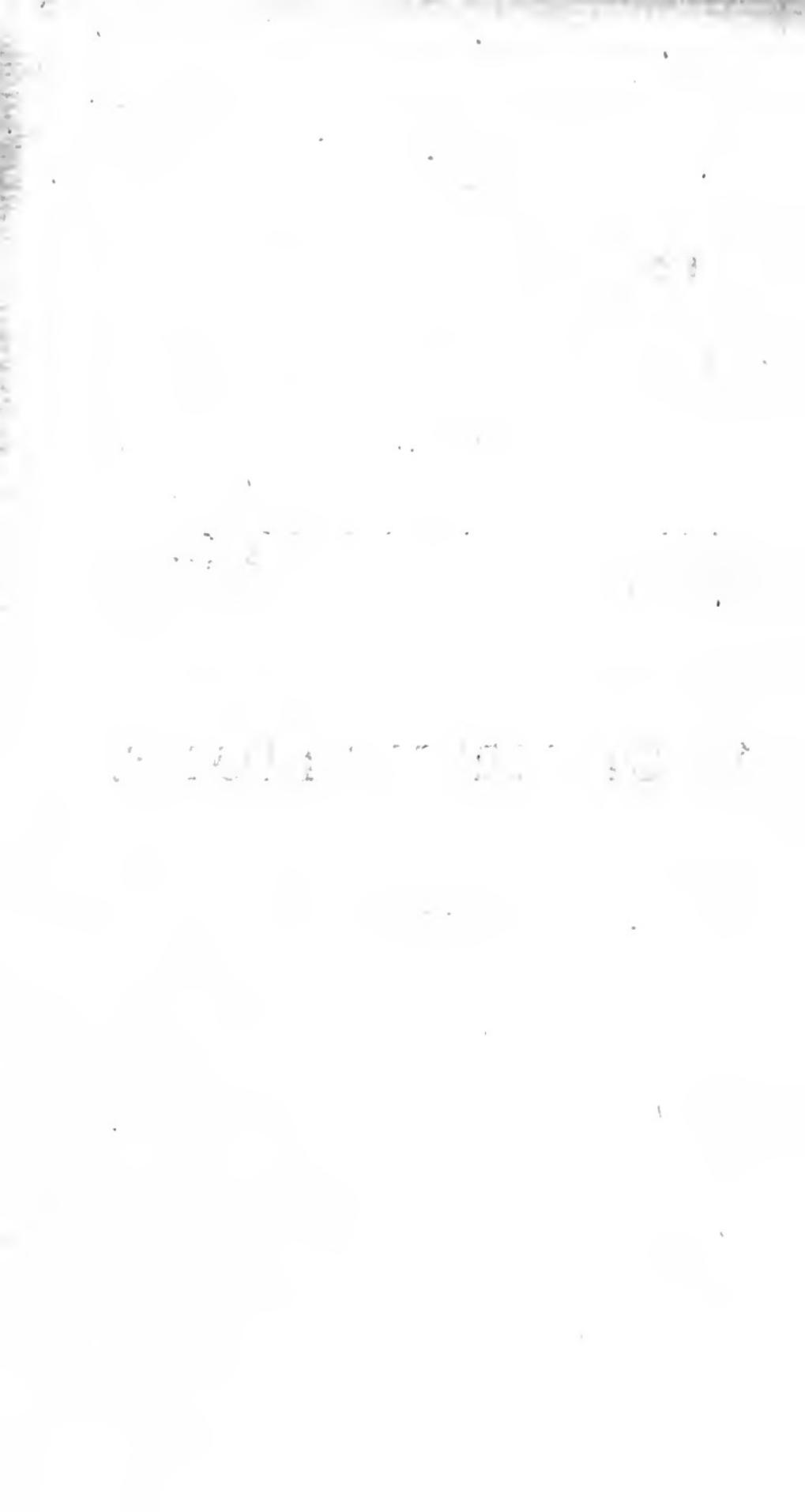


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THE
INSTITUTIONS, &c.
OF THE
ANCIENT NATIONS.

VOL. II.



T H E
I N S T I T U T I O N S,
M A N N E R S, and C U S T O M S
O F T H E
A N C I E N T N A T I O N S.

T R A N S L A T E D
From the O R I G I N A L F R E N C H of
M R . S A B B A T H I E R.

By P E R C I V A L S T O C K D A L E.

V O L . II.

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THE
Institutions, Customs, and Manners
OF THE
ANCIENT NATIONS.

THE GERMANS.

THE name of Germans was not the ancient and primitive name of this people. It was given them by the Gauls, who inhabited the country near the left coast of the Rhine, and who, having felt the effects of their valour, expressed, by this appellation, the terror with which they had been struck by these *men of war*.—For that is the signification of the word *German*. The conquerors adopted a name which redounded so much to their glory; and by the Romans, who took it from the Gauls, the use of it was confirmed: and it has been famous for many ages.

The Germans credited, and boasted the fables concerning their origin, which had been delivered down to them by their ancestors in songs. Such are, in general, the historical

monuments of a barbarous people. We shall not detain the reader by examining them. We shall only observe, that though the Germans were very numerous, and though there were many divisions of their territories, it was evident that they had all one origin; and that they were distinguished from other nations, not only by their dispositions and manner of living, but likewise by their external form.

ARTICLE I.

A portrait of the Germans.

The Germans had blue eyes, and a fierce aspect. Their hair was long, and of a light colour; though somewhat red. Their bodies were large, and vigorous in short action; but soon fatigued. They were enured to cold by the rigour of their climate; they were accustomed to bear hunger by the poverty of their country; though their soil was more neglected than barren. Their strength was soon exhausted by thirst and heat. This national likeness was conspicuous in every individual; for the race of the Germans was not mixed by their intermarrying with people of other countries. Formidable in war, and inhabiting poor and waste territories, they had nothing that could invite strangers to traffic with them, or to settle among them. And as their minds were neither agitated by avarice, nor by ambition, they seldom quitted their own country. TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. CREV. HIST. DES EMP. tom. i.

ARTICLE II.

The passion of the Germans for war.

They all loved war ; and they loved it for its own sake. They were not desirous of acquiring riches by their arms ; for of riches they knew not the use ; nor of extending their dominions ; for they made it their glory to see vast solitudes around them. They thought that those solitudes evidenced their superiority over the people whom they had driven from them ; and that they served as natural bulwarks to guard them from the sudden irruption of hostile nations. The activity of the soldier's life, and that glory which is the immediate consequence of victory, made them fond of war.

There was a warlike emulation betwixt the Germans and the Gauls, which was as ancient as the two nations ; and Cæsar observes, that in early times the Gauls had the advantage ; for their colonies penetrated into Germany, in many parts of which they settled, after they had won them by the sword. In later times, the Gauls, rendered effeminate by their commerce with the Romans, by riches and luxury, were worsted by the Germans, in whom a poor, hardy, and laborious life, supported vigour of body, and kept alive the flame of valour. Hence the Germans became conquerors on the left side of the Rhine ; but they did not penetrate into the heart of Gaul ; for they were checked, and repelled by the Ro-

mans. They kept possession, however, of this tract on the confines; they peopled all that country which extends from Bâle to the mouth of the Rhine: it took the name of Germany; and it was divided by Augustus into two German provinces.

Their passion for war was so strong, that if any of their cantons had for a long time wanted an opportunity to exert its military genius, the youth of that canton, impatient of a peace, which to them was tedious and painful, and eager to signalize their courage, went to foreign countries in quest of war; or kept their martial spirit in vigour by invading the territories of their neighbours. For they did not deem the act of pillaging base, provided it was practised out of the limits of their own country: on the contrary, they thought it laudable and glorious; an employment worthy of their youth, as it kept them from indolence and inaction. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE III.

The propensity of the Germans to idleness when they were not employed in war.

This martial people were fond of nothing but war and arms. They were even indifferent to hunting. With regard to agriculture, they deemed it an ignoble profession, and only deserving attention as far as it was necessary to the preservation of life. They thought it ignominious to gain a subsistence by the plough; but they counted it glorious

to live by the sword. Hence, when they were not engaged in war; they sunk into a lethargy of soul. They only ate and drank, and slept. The necessary care of the household, and all private œconomy were left to the weaker part of the species, to the women and old men. The robust and valiant, when the sword was sheathed, thought it their high prerogative to be exempt from all activity of body and of mind. People, surely, of a whimsical and unaccountable character, says Tacitus:—They both hated and loved repose.

Ibid.

ARTICLE IV.

The German ceremony of arming a young man for the first time.

In the profoundest peace they did not quit their arms. When they transacted public, when they transacted private affairs, they were always armed. A young man was armed for the first time with a particular ceremony, and with the suffrages of all his canton. He was presented before a general assembly, by one of the chiefs, or by his father, or by a near relation. The person who presented him, with the assent of the whole assembly, gave him the buckler and the lance. This ceremony corresponded with *that* of taking the *toga virilis* among the Romans. It was the young man's first degree of political manhood and honour. Hitherto he had been dependent

dent on a private family; he now became a member of the state. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE V.

Of the numerous retinue of young men who were under the command of the nobles.

Those whom old nobility, or the signal services of their ancestors had rendered illustrious, held, from their infancy, the rank of chiefs and princes, in their native cantons. The other young men enlisted themselves under brave and celebrated warriors, and served them as honourable guards. It was not in the least degree ignominious thus to obey a great man; to become, as it were, one of his household. His retinue was a military troop consisting of different orders, which were filled according to merit. Thus were the youth powerfully excited to emulation: while each of the chiefs too was ambitious to have the most numerous, and the best disciplined troop. This was their glory; and in this their power consisted. It was their first ambition to be surrounded with a company of brave and generous young men; who respected and honoured them in peace, and defended them in war. The influence which they drew from those illustrious guards was so great, that it extended to the neighbouring nations; from which it brought them embassies and presents;—nay, it rendered them so formidable to all the states around, that obstinate and bloody

bloody wars were often terminated by their interposition.

It is, indeed, no wonder that the leader of these brave young men was formidable. For as victory was his highest glory, and as he exerted a fearless valour to obtain it ; to emulate his intrepidity was their favourite ambition. To survive an action in which a chief had lost his life, was an indelible infamy to his followers. For they had solemnly engaged to defend him, to save him from dangers, to do him honour by their exploits. The chiefs fought for victory ; the youth fought for their chief. All this retinue lived at the expence of him whom they served ; who provided for them a plain, but a plentiful table. This table was kept at a considerable expence. But he did not recompense their valour merely by maintaining them ; he likewise made them magnificent presents. That he might be enabled to confer these distinguishing marks of his esteem, he had recourse principally to war ; to continual expeditions, to invasions ; in short, to military robbery, to keep up the state of a general, and his liberality to his troops. He was likewise assisted by the voluntary contributions of the people of his canton, who made him presents of corn and cattle ; presents which were alike favourable to the interest, and to the honour of him who received them. But the most glorious presents were those which were sometimes sent by the neighbouring nations to chiefs of a distinguished merit, and of a celebrated name. These gifts, which raised the

esteem and admiration of their valour, were, war-horses, large and beautiful suits of armour, trappings, and gorgets. “ We have taught them (saith Tacitus) in this degenerate age, to receive money instead of the instruments of war.” *Ibid.*

ARTICLE VI.

There was no discipline in the German armies.

The valour of the Germans was all their warlike merit. We must not expect from them either discipline or knowledge of the art of war, or well-contrived armour. What indeed could be the discipline of those armies, whose generals had not the power of inflicting any punishment? They were respected and followed by their soldiers from the influence of their example, not from the authority of their command. If they signalized their valour; if they headed their troops in the heat of battle, obedience was the natural consequence of admiration. But they were not permitted to put offenders to death, nor to confine them; nor to inflict on them *any* corporal punishment. The priests alone were authorized to punish the soldiers. And even when they sentenced military criminals to punishment, they were obliged to pretend that they acted from a higher suggestion than their own judgment or the will of the general. This nation, as it was extremely jealous of its liberty, would obey none but the gods. The priests enforced their penal determinations by the

the pretext of a divine inspiration, of an immediate command from the deity who presided over war.

The method by which they formed the different corps of which their armies were composed, stimulated their natural valour with powerful encouragements; but it was certainly unfavourable to discipline. They were not commanded by general officers who distributed the soldiers as the service required. All those families who were related to each other, assembled in companies, in squadrons, and battalions; their wives and their children accompanied them to battle. The cries of the women and children animated the martial ardour of these warriors; made them desperately brave. They deemed their families the most respectable witnesses of their exploits, their most honourable panegyrists. They shewed the wounds which they had received to their wives and to their mothers; who feared not to count and to suck those wounds. Those women, both of tender and martial souls, carried with them refreshments for the soldiers. They inflamed their courage by their exhortations. They often renewed the valour of the intimidated troops; and made them return to the charge by their urgent and affecting entreaties, by stopping them in their flight, and by presenting to their imagination the horrors of captivity and servitude.

All these causes of generous emotion contributed to make ardent combatants, but not well

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well-disciplined soldiers. Those associations were so many separate bodies, which divided the common interest, and prevented uniformity of action. The authority of the leader of every band was personal and inherent, not derived as it should have been, from the commander in chief. Thus a German army was not a well-proportioned and compact body, inspired by one mind: for each of its parts formed a distinct whole.

Ibid.

ARTICLE VII.

The Germans knew not the art of war.

We have already observed, that the Germans possessed no military science. That science is grounded on such profound reflections, and is connected with so many arts, that it never was attained by a barbarous people.

Ibid.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the simple and light arms of the Germans.

Their arms were very simple. Few of them had swords or long pikes. They generally used only javelins, the German name of which, *Framea*, was adopted by the Latins. Its iron was short and small. It was used two ways. It was launched to a distance; and it was likewise a weapon for close fight. The cavalry had no other weapon. The infantry used the *Framea*, and likewise arrows, which they shot with great force, and which flew to a prodigious

gious distance. With regard to defensive arms, they scarce knew any but the buckler. They rarely wore the helmet and the breast-plate. They commonly fought half-naked, or clad only in a light coat. Their ensigns were the images of beasts, which they had consecrated in their woods, and which they took thence to battle. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE IX.

Of the German horses and cavalry.

Their horses were neither remarkable for beauty nor swiftness; but they were hardy and indefatigable; and they were accustomed to endure labour by continual labour. They were not trained; for the horsemanship of the Germans was very simple. The German cavalry only rode directly forward; or wheeled to the right, and by following one another obliquely, ranged themselves in a circle. They rode on the bare backs of their horses; and thought the use of saddles so delicate, so effeminate, so shameful, that they held the soldiers who rode on them in sovereign contempt, and were never afraid to attack them, however superior they might be in number. In battle they often alighted, and fought at a distance from their horses, which they had accustomed to wait for them. They mounted again, when they found it necessary. This manner of fighting was imprudent. In general, the principal strength of the German armies consisted in their infantry. Therefore they used

to

to mix companies of foot with their troops of horse; a practice which is mentioned, and praised by Cæsar. Ibid.

ARTICLE X.

Of their song when they were marching to battle.

When the Germans went to battle, they inflamed their courage with songs which contained encomiums on their ancient heroes, and proposed them as models for their imitation. Their singing likewise presaged to them the success of the battle. For they anticipated their victory or defeat, from the degree and tone of the sound which resulted from their united voices. We may easily suppose that this was not a very harmonious concert. A rude and harsh sound, augmented by their bucklers, which they put before their mouths, to cause a repercussion—this was the music that charmed their ears and announced victory. Ibid.

ARTICLE XI.

The German manner of fighting.

Though the Germans were a brave people, they did not pique themselves on keeping their ranks, in standing firm to their posts. To fall back, provided they returned to the charge, was not, in their opinion, shameful, but an act of art and address. They were not, however, to leave their buckler in the power

power of the enemy. This was, among the Germans, and in all the ancient nations, the greatest infamy. They whom this dishonour had befallen, were never after admitted either to the ceremonies of religion or to any assembly; and many who were thus excluded from sacred and civil privileges, put an end to their ignominy by a voluntary death.

Such were the Germans as warriors; and as warriors I have first considered them. For war was their predominant passion; they lived in a continual state of war:—it formed their character. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XII.

The gods of the Germans. They built no temples.

The religion of the Germans was rude and absurd. Indeed, from Cæsar's account of them, we may assert, that they properly had no religion. They only acknowledged visible objects for their gods; the sun, the moon, and fire; to whom they offered no sacrifices, and to whom they consecrated no priests. In this point, however, it appears, that Cæsar was not well informed. The circumstance which probably led him into an error, was, that the Germans had no temples. As they thought, like the Persians, that they dishonoured the Divine Majesty who appropriated to it the narrow bounds of a temple, or who presumed to give it a human form; they performed their religious ceremonies in the innermost

most recesses of their woods. Thus the silent shade was their sanctuary: and in that venerable retreat, far from the trifling objects of sense, their souls were absorbed in religious awe, in the spirit of devotion.

But besides the divinities mentioned by Cæsar, which are visible objects of nature, the Germans, as we are informed by Tacitus, adored invisible gods, Mercury and Mars, for instance; and deified heroes, such as Mercury. Even Isis, the Egyptian goddess, was honoured by the Suevi; though it is difficult to say by what means that foreign worship had travelled so far from its native country. It appeared, however, that the Isis of the Suevi was a foreign deity, by the figure of a ship which they joined to her image.

Mercury was the greatest of their gods; and on certain days they sacrificed to him human victims. They only offered the blood of animals to Mars and to Hercules. This deity was with them, as among the Greeks and Romans, the god of valour. And when they went to battle, they sung odes to his praise, in which they celebrated him as the bravest of heroes.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XIII.

The different kinds of divination among the Germans.—Their auspices.

The Germans were strongly prejudiced in favour of destiny and auguries. Their manner of inquiring into the series of fate was very simple.

simple. They cut into several pieces the twig of a fruit-tree ; after having distinguished those pieces by marks, they threw them promiscuously on a white cloth. Then the priest of the community, if they wanted to know a public event, if a private one, the father of the family, addressed a prayer to the gods, and looking towards Heaven, took up each piece thrice, one after another ; and from the order in which the marks presented themselves, he solved a difficulty, or predicted what was to happen. If his answer was not favourable, they made no farther oracular inquiry concerning the matter that day. But if it was agreeable to their wishes, that they might be fully assured of its truth, they had it confirmed by auspices. It was customary with them, as it was with the Romans, to consult the voice, and the flight of birds.

But they had a kind of divination which was peculiar to *them*, and which they took from their horses. White horses, which were maintained at the public expence, grazed in the sacred woods. They were exempt from all labour for the service of man. When the will of the deity was to be revealed by them, they were put to a sacred car; and in their march, the priest, with the king or chief of the canton, accompanied them, and anxiously observed the motions and neighing of those animals, as infallible signs of the decrees of Heaven. The credulity of the people and of the great, had rendered these auspices the most respectable and decisive.

The

The priests were only esteemed the ministers of the gods ; but the sacred horses were revered as their confidants, as beings entrusted with their secrets. We might be astonished at a superstition so absurd, and so disgraceful to human nature, if we did not find in the history of the most polished nations, many similar examples.

The Germans had another way of divining the event of important wars. They made a prisoner, whom they had taken from the enemy, fight one of their warriors. Each of the combatants was armed after the manner of his country. The success of the single combat presaged the general issue of the war. Perhaps from this superstition, which was in equal credit among the Gauls, arose the combats in which Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius signalized themselves ; and acquired, the former, the title of Torquatus, and the latter that of Corvus.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XIV.

The pretended prophetesses of the Germans.

The last article of German superstition which we meet with in Tacitus, is the opinion they entertained that women had some sacred, some divine property which enabled them to communicate to mankind the decrees of the gods. In a pretended prophetess they always confided ; and if, by a lucky chance, events were agreeable to her answers, they even honoured her as a deity ; from a firm persuasion that she

was

was divine; and not like the Romans, who paid divine honours to their emperors, though they were certain that they were mere men, and that many of them were the most worthless of men.

Tacitus gives us a particular account of one woman who imposed her oracles on the Germans in his time, and during the wars of Civilis against the Romans. Her name was Veleda: she was a virgin, and sovereign of a large district in the country of the Bructeri. She acted her part extremely well; she dwelt in a high tower; and was difficult of access, that she might be the more respected. They who consulted her, did not present their petitions to her themselves. One of her relations was the mediator: he took the questions of those who were curious to know futurity, and returned them the answers of the prophetess. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XV.

The tradition of the immortality of the soul among the Germans.

We must not omit to inform the reader that the tradition of the immortality of the soul was preserved among these barbarous people, who believed that at their death they passed from this life to a better. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XVI.

*The government of the Germans.—Their kings.—
Their generals.*

We now proceed to the article of government, in which their love of liberty and independence is very discernible. All their magistrates and officers were elective. They chose their kings, says Tacitus, from the noblest of their countrymen, and their generals from the bravest. This passage of Tacitus we may perhaps explain and complete by one from Cæsar. A people who were composed of many cantons, had not a common chief in time of peace. Their different cantons were governed by magistrates, who are probably called kings by Tacitus. In war all the cantons acted in concert, and chose a king to command their united forces.

We have already observed that the authority of their generals was very circumscribed. The power of their kings was equally limited in the civil establishment. Every public affair was decided by the plurality of suffrages. A council, composed of the principal citizens, regulated matters of smaller consequence. The more important affairs were determined in a general assembly of the people. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XVII.

The assembly of the Germans, in which their great affairs were decided.

Their general assemblies were fixed; and except in sudden and unforeseen emergencies, they were held at the new and full moon; times that superstition had denominated the most fortunate. It was perhaps in consequence of this veneration for the moon, that the Germans as well as the Gauls counted their time by nights, and not by days; comprising in the term night, the revolution of twenty-four hours. Nay, perhaps this custom, which was practised by other nations, and particularly by the Hebrews, had a more respectable source, and proceeded originally from the order of creation, according to which, as we learn from scripture, the night preceded the day. The assembly was a long time in forming. Enemies to all constraint, and perhaps slow by nature, the Germans never met in consequence of a summons, exactly at the appointed time. Two or three days were passed in waiting for the tardy members of the assembly. When they thought the number was sufficient, they all took their places, armed, according to custom; and the priests, who even in the general assembly, had a co-active power, ordered silence to be proclaimed. Then the king, or chief of the canton, or any one who was distinguished by his birth, his age, his valour, and his eloquence, addressed the people, not in the tone of an arbitrary

trary dictator, but of a modest counsellor. If his advice was not liked, the assembly rejected it by a murmur of disapprobation; if it pleased them, they all shook their javelins. To applaud with arms, was the most honourable testimony which this warlike people could give to the merit of an orator.

At these general assemblies they nominated the chiefs who were destined to administer justice to each canton, and to its dependent villages. Every one of those chiefs had a hundred assessors chosen from the people. They formed the council, and judged in conjunction with the chief.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XVIII.

Their judgments and punishments.

At this supreme tribunal criminal matters were likewise judged. As crimes are different in their nature, so were the German punishments. They hanged on trees, traitors to their country, and deserters. They who had fled in battle, or were on any account noted for cowardice; and they who were addicted to lewdness, were drowned in miry pools, under hurdles. The German policy thought it proper to expose the punishment of villainy to the face of day; and to bury that of shameful actions under water.

The crimes which only affected individuals, were not treated with so much rigour. A private criminal, even in the case of murder, was only obliged to forfeit a certain number of horses or of cattle. This forfeit varied according

cording to the degree of the offence; part of it fell to the king and the community; and the other part to the injured person or to the prosecutor. We find this extreme indulgence in the laws of the Franks, of the Burgundians, and of other Germans who settled in Gaul; only with this difference, that as money was then in use among those people, the forfeits for mutilation and for homicide are expressed by certain sums.

I must now acquaint my reader with the private life of the Germans, their possessions, their domestic customs, and their amusements. All these we shall find extremely rude and simple; such as we might suppose would be established by a barbarous people, almost wholly actuated by their senses, and conversant with few objects,

Ibid.

ARTICLE XIX.

Agriculture neglected by the Germans.—They had no property in land.—Their annual culture.

The Germans inhabited a country sufficiently fruitful; but it was unfavourable to those productions which require much heat. Yet Germany, though the soil is good, and though it is now so populous, was, in ancient times, covered with woods and lakes. The Hercynian forest, which has been rendered famous by antiquity, was, according to Cæsar, a journey of nine days breadth; for in this manner the Germans computed distances:

they were ignorant of itinerary measures. The length of that forest was immense; it extended quite across Germany, from the Rhine to the Vistula; and its windings were so many, that one arrived not at its extremity, after a journey of sixty days.

Thus the Germans let a generous soil lie waste, which, if they had cultivated it, would have enriched them. Some parts of it, indeed, they were obliged to till, that they might have the necessary quantity of corn. This was the only tribute which they required of the earth. They had no gardens, no fruit, no meadows. They were so far from enjoying the gifts of autumn, that they had not a name for that season. Winter, spring, and summer, were the divisions of their year. Even the portion of land which they cultivated, they did not regard enough to make it their property. The land which they had cultivated one year, they left to any who chose to occupy it; as they were sure of finding more vacant, whenever their low provisions should warn them of approaching want.

This custom was not merely a consequence of their manners, but likewise of a law, to the observance of which their magistrates were strictly attentive. They founded that law on different reasons; which all proceeded from their love of war, and from a view of the advantages that resulted from a simple and hardy life. They said, if they suffered their countrymen to inherit estates, a taste for agriculture would blunt their passion for war; inequality

of possessions would succeed, which would produce oppression; commodious architecture would be introduced; and luxury and effeminacy would follow; avarice would banish the integrity, and disturb the peace of their countrymen; avarice, the source of quarrels, of factions; of the utmost depravity of heart. In short, they alleged that the German simplicity of life greatly contributed to the easy government of the common people, who would always be content with their lot, while their superiors were not richer than they. This manner of reasoning, though it is condemned by the examples of all polished nations, deserves not the contempt with which it is commonly treated. We must at least allow, that when it was put in execution, it must have cherished a high spirit of valour, a hatred of tyranny, and an ardent love of freedom.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XX.

*The Germans set no value on gold and silver.
Amber.*

Their wealth consisted in their cattle, which were small, meagre, and ugly. They either had no gold nor silver, or they despised those metals. Tacitus assures us, that they valued a piece of plate, which perhaps had been presented to them by foreign ambassadors, no more than the earthen ware which they commonly used. Those, however, who lived nearest to the Romans, valued gold and silver,

because they facilitated commerce. That they only esteemed those metals as far as they served that purpose, is proved by this circumstance, that they preferred silver to gold coin, as more useful to a nation who only bought and sold things of small value. In the interior parts of Germany, commerce was carried on with all the simplicity of ancient times, by the exchange of merchandise.

They who inhabited the coasts of the Baltic towards the Vistula, (Tacitus calls them Estians) gathered a production of the sea, which, in other hands, would have been a fund of wealth. I speak of amber, which was highly valued by the Romans. The sea throws it in little heaps on the shore, and the Estians had only the trouble of gathering it. From its transparency they termed it *gleffum*, which in their language signified *glass*. They neglected it for a long time, as the refuse of the sea.—The Barbarians, having observed that it was industriously sought for, were themselves more diligent in gathering it than before; but they brought it to the Romans in its rough natural state, and were surprised at the price which they received for it.

In the time of Tacitus the nature of amber was unknown. That author supposed, that it was a kind of gum, which issuing from trees, fell into the sea, and was condensed there. Our modern naturalists have discovered, that it is a bituminous substance, which is formed in the veins of the earth, through which it flows into the sea, where it is hardened.

ened. Fossile amber is found in Prussia, in Provence, and in Italy. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXI.

The simple food of the Germans. Their propensity to wine.

Corn, as we have already remarked, was a part of the sustenance of the Germans. They lived likewise on milk, cheese, the flesh of their cattle, and on that of the game which they killed. Without the knowledge of any epicurean refinements of cookery, untainted with our false and poisonous delicacy, they only ate to appease hunger. Beer was their common drink. And Tacitus informs us, that they only drank wine, who lived near the Rhine, and consequently could easily purchase it. If you gratify their love of wine, says he, if you give them as much of it as they desire, you may easily subdue that nation, by indulging their propensity to excess, whom it is very difficult to conquer by arms. The Suevi, who inhabited a large tract of Germany, had experienced the fatal effects of ebriety; and to prevent them for the future, to preclude the degeneracy of valour and of manners, which was caused by drunkenness, they prohibited the importation of wine into their country. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXII.

*The division of the day among the Germans.
Their entertainments, at which they discussed
the most serious matters.*

In the German manner of passing the day, we must not look for any of the occupations which employ modern time. They had neither scholars, nor artists, nor lawyers, nor financiers. They slept soundly till it was day. Immediately after they rose, they bathed: commonly in warm water, in the days of Tacitus; an effeminacy which, as it was inconsistent with the old German hardiness, they undoubtedly adopted in their commerce with the Romans. For, according to Cæsar's account, in early times, they bathed in their rivers. It is well known that they used to plunge their new-born children into the Rhine.

After they had bathed, they took a simple and substantial meal of such food as we have related. They then went from home; sometimes on business; but commonly to an entertainment. There they drank to excess.—They were not ashamed to drink all the day and night. Their intemperance often produced quarrels, which did not terminate merely in words. Impetuous, and always armed, they often fought. Their feasts, which began with pleasure and joy, often ended with bloodshed, with murder. They settled the most important affairs during their entertainments;—such

as the reconciling of people who had been at variance;—marriages; the election of their princes; and matters of peace and war.—No time seemed to them more proper than the convivial hour, for opening the heart to friendship, or for elevating the mind to great and noble ideas. Simple and ingenuous by nature, and unpractised in modern fraud, when they were warmed and exhilarated by wine, they unlocked the inmost springs of the soul. They assembled again the next day, and as they were masters of each other's sentiments, they coolly debated all that had passed on the preceding night. By treating their public and private affairs in this manner, they thought every material circumstance was fully brought to light, and properly digested and determined. For they first gave their opinions when it was impossible for them to dissemble; and they took their final measures at a rational and dispassionate juncture, when they were least liable to mistake. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXIII.

Of the German hospitality.

Hospitality was never practised more by any people than it was by the Germans. They deemed it a crime, and impiety, to refuse their house and table to any stranger. Every one was welcome to them, and they treated their guests as generously as their circumstances would permit. When the master of a house had exhausted his provisions by his hospitality,

he took his guest to the next house, where they were both received, though without any previous invitation, with equal generosity. They entertained a known and an unknown person with equal kindness.

When a stranger left them, if he asked for any thing which he liked in their house, it was their custom to give it him : and they, in their turn, demanded of him any thing he had which pleased them. This reciprocal communication of presents was agreeable to them ; but it was not associated with sentiment.—They exacted no gratitude for what they had given : and they did not think themselves obliged by what they had received. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXIV.

Habitations of the Germans.

Germany, which is now adorned with a great number of beautiful cities, had not one in the times of which we are treating. Not that the dwelling of the Germans was like that of the vagabond Scythian, who removed his family in a waggon from place to place. They had houses, the vicinity of which to one another, formed hamlets. For their houses were not strictly contiguous. Each of them, with its little appendages, made a distinct whole. A person built a house on the spot which he liked best. A wood, a fountain, a little improveable land determined its situation. There he built his hut without stones or tiles ; it was constructed with rough pieces

of wood: in building it, he paid little regard to convenience: as to elegance, it was not at all in his idea. Some parts of it, however, says Tacitus, were covered with a kind of earth, which was so luminous and bright, that its colours resembled those of the painter.— Could it be a baked earth, like delft? — The Germans likewise dug subterranean retreats, which they covered with a great quantity of dung. Those caves served them for asylums from the rigour of winter; and also for magazines, in which they safely lodged their corn, when they were expecting an invasion.

Hence we may infer, that the Germans were not strongly attached to any particular abode. They were absolute proprietors of no field: their houses were rude and temporary; we should rather call them huts: their cattle was their only possession. They had nothing which confined them to a place. Thus not only individuals and families, but whole cantons changed their district with as much ease as a citizen of Paris removes from one street to another.—Hence it is difficult to fix the boundaries of the different people of Germany: they were varying continually. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXV.

The dress of the Germans.

The Germans were as simple in their dress, as in their other accommodations. They might be said to be half naked: they wore only a great coat, which they fastened with a clasp, and

and sometimes with a piece of thorn ; and in this garb, they passed whole days over the fire. In the dress of the rich there was more art, and some elegance. Like our modern clothes, it was adapted to the shape of the body. They likewise wore costly furs ; especially those who inhabited the middle and northern parts of the country. To these furs they added ornaments, with which the great fishes supplied them, that they took in the German and Baltic seas.

The dress of the women was commonly of linen ; in form it differed little from that of the men. It was decorated with purple borders. They wore no sleeves. Their arms were uncovered ; and their breast was exposed. A custom inconsistent with the modesty and virtue of their character. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXVI.

The marriages of the Germans. The chastity of their wives.

Marriage was a sacred and chaste union among the Germans : and in this article Tacitus thinks their manners most worthy of praise. Polygamy was not allowed among them, unless it procured them the honourable and advantageous alliance of some powerful prince. The husband gave his wife her fortune ; but the presents which he made her, were far from being incentives to dress and luxury. They were, a yoke of oxen, a horse with his bit, and a bridle ; a buckler, a lance, and

and a sword. She, too, brought her husband some piece of armour. Their indissoluble and virtuous engagement was represented by these presents, which were as much revered by *them*, as auspices and the god Hymen, and sacrificial ceremonies, *were* by the Romans.

The presents which the husband gave, were an important lesson to the wife. They warned her, that, notwithstanding her sex, it was her duty, to fortify her mind to intrepidity; and to expose herself to dangers;—that in peace and war, her courage and her fortune were to be the same with those of her husband;—that she was to share his fatigues and perils; to continue united to him in life and in death. These precious symbols were, therefore, religiously preserved by the wife, that her daughters-in-law might receive them from her sons, and transmit them to their posterity, to enforce the same obligations.
Ibid.

ARTICLE XXVII.

Of the punishment of adultery among the Germans.

The conduct of the German women in the married state, corresponded with their severe and generous engagements. As their minds were not corrupted by those objects which destroy virtue, by public diversions and dissolute entertainments, their chastity was as pure as it was safe.—The men and the women were both ignorant of the art of communicating their

their sentiments to each other by clandestine letters, by which the ruin of both sexes is so often concerted and effected: If any German wife, however, was guilty of the shameful act of adultery, the crime was immediately followed by punishment, and the husband was both the judge and the avenger. In the presence of the two families, he cut off the hair from the head of the criminal; and after having formally banished her from his house, he whipped her through the hamlet. No remission, no indulgence was granted to this offence. Youth, beauty, and riches united, could not exempt the woman who had forfeited her honour, from this ignominious punishment, nor procure her another husband. For Tacitus remarks, with a gravity which does honour to a virtuous historian, that—“ In their country, vice is never made a subject of pleasantry; and to that communication between the sexes which corrupts manners, much harsher and juster expressions are applied, than gallantry and knowledge of the world.” *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXVIII.

Unity of marriage among the Germans.

The law of conjugal fidelity was so rigorous in some parts of Germany, as to exact unity of marriage. The young women were not permitted to take the title of wife a second time. As they had but one body, and one life in this world, they were to have but one husband.

husband. They guarded the rights of marriage with such a severe limitation, to preclude ungenerous desires, hopes that might have extended beyond the life of the husband, in whom, by this rule, all the happiness of the wife was to center.

The voluntary practice of this custom is very laudable. But it seems unjust to make it a universal law ; especially as it did not restrain both the sexes. To the rigour of this law, the Heruli, as we are informed by Procopius, added a shocking cruelty. Among them the wife was obliged to strangle herself on the tomb of her husband, under pain of living in disgrace and infamy.—Thus barbarous nations, whose sentiments and prejudices are uncontroled by reason and cultivated manners, when they mean to patronize and encourage virtue, divest her of her attractive graces, and cloud her with austerity and horrour. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXIX.

Of the esteem and respect which the Germans had for their women.

There have been in all ages, and there are yet nations who deem women mere slaves ; fit, indeed, to regulate household matters ; but unqualified to judge of public affairs : beings whose minds are only susceptible of trifling, or at best, of domestic ideas. According to these theorists of human nature, the fair sex ought never to interfere, in any manner, in

the policy or civil administration of a state; spinning, and obedience to their husbands, should constitute all their knowledge. Many philosophers have not been more favourable to them than those jealous nations which hold them in a continual servitude. Thucydides, the historian, who was as austere in his morals as in his writings, says that women are born for retirement and repose; that their virtue consisted in being unknown, in neither incurring blame nor praise; and that the most virtuous woman was she, of whom least was spoken, either good or bad; as if virtue and merit were not common to both sexes; and as if the soft and indolent life of many women was not rather the effect of an improper education, than the dreary privilege of their nature. But all nations, if they were guided by reason and sound judgment, would treat women with great tenderness and respect. They are the beautiful part of the human species, and on them principally depends its duration. On these principles the ancient Germans highly honoured their women; and often trusted them, in very delicate junctures, with the transaction of their most important public affairs. Mr. de Chambert, who has collected, in two dissertations, every thing material and curious, with which antiquity could furnish him on this subject, gives us a circumstantial and accurate account of the great esteem which the Germans had for their women; and he equally imputes it to the probity and valour of

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that nation, and to the beauty and talents of the German ladies.

Aristotle, when he enumerates the female properties which are worthy of praise, begins with those of the body, which are beauty; and beauty consists of a just proportion of the parts of the body, and of that grace, which it is more easy to imagine than to describe. Cicero, who gives us this definition of beauty, divides it into two sorts; an attractive beauty, which is peculiar to the fair sex; and the beauty of dignity, or of a noble mien; which is common to both sexes, and which, in persons of high rank, we stile majesty. In women beauty is always esteemed, and thought so essential a property, that they who are destitute of it, are unhappily and unjustly doomed to a degree of contempt. Ancient authors have not forgotten this universal charm, when they have had occasion to speak of the German women. Diodorus Siculus, where he mentions the inhabitants of each side of the Rhine, says, that their women were very beautiful: and we are told by Athenæus, that of all the barbarous nations, the Celtæ (by this appellation he distinguishes the Germans) had the most beautiful women. As the Germans, according to Tacitus, were aborigines, had always continued masters of their own country, and admitted no affinity with strangers, they intermarried only with Germans. Hence the national resemblance of one German to another was very striking. And though perhaps we all, in some respects, differ from one another,

in form and aspect, the German women had, in general, a peculiar and characteristic beauty, by which they were eminently distinguished.

Such is the portrait of the German women, which Mr. de Chambort has copied from the ancients. Their hair was commonly flaxen, thick, and flowing. Their eyes were blue, their features rather large, but regular. Their complexion was fine, their skin extremely white. They had that fresh bloom, and that good plight which denote wholesome maintenance, and perfect health. Their stature was tall; their shape was well proportioned and easy; their carriage and their mien were noble. They had an air of majesty, which was tempered and softened with a modest demeanour, that renders inferior charms amiable and attractive.

The author presumes not to adjudge the prize of beauty to fair women; but he observes, in favour of the German ladies, that almost all the ancient poets, when they describe their goddesses and heroines, give them flaxen hair, a fair complexion, and skin, and a fine stature. The flaxen and the white unite happily; and make that mixture of colours, which, in Cicero's opinion, is essential to beauty. To the authority of the poets he joins that of the writers of romances, which runs in the same strain. He shows that their principal heroines, Chariclea not excepted, though she is an Ethiopian, have all flaxen hair.

Beauty is often a source of quarrels, and of wars; and if *none* ever took their rise from the charms of the German ladies, we may doubt that they were so striking as they are represented. But they, too, had the honour of exciting war. They were often married in consequence of a victory gained by their lover over his rival. Among the many instances that he quotes of such facts, I shall only mention that of the daughter of Segestus, prince of the Catti, who was carried off by Arminius, the chief of the Cheruscî; the consequences of this rape are related by Tacitus.

To strike with surprise, to inspire at once love and respect, is the prerogative of real beauty. Now, whether the German women were made prisoners of war, (for they generally accompanied their husbands to war) or whether they were received as hostages, to corroborate treaties of peace; they raised an immediate admiration in those who beheld them, which proved fatal to many. Rome never saw a more perfect beauty than Bissula, a young German lady, whose charms have been celebrated by Ausonius. And as one of the certain and most violent effects of beauty, is, that it causes an extreme jealousy, the formidable rivals of this country inflamed the breasts of the Roman ladies with this passion; who, according to Ovid, Propertius, and Martial, employed all the most elaborate and refined art of the toilette, fearing that they *should* be eclipsed by the German captives.

The graces of the German women were dignified with modesty. Their dress and embellishments were very simple. Their hair was sometimes turned up, and knotted on the top of their head; and it was so long, that even then it fell back to their shoulders. Sometimes it flowed negligently, without any confinement. A linen shift without sleeves, and a robe of the skins of different animals, were their richest apparel.

The diligence of the German women in their domestic duties, was another cause of the esteem and respect which was paid to them by their husbands. In these duties were comprised their matrimonial fidelity, their care of their children, and their household œconomy. Their parents had taught them, from their tender years, that modesty and industry, which adorned them in the married state. Educated by prudent and sage mothers; fortified by good examples, and seeing none around them but virtuous persons; chastity was to them so precious a quality, that they by whom it had been violated, could entertain no hopes either of pardon, or a husband, how rich and beautiful soever they might be, as we have already informed the reader. A woman who had been convicted of adultery, a monstrous and almost an unknown crime in this country, suffered far more from the infamy which was annexed to it, than from the corporal punishment. But how could German wives be suspected of this perfidy, who were so warmly attached to the interest of their husbands, that on account of

it they often quarrelled with their relations? wives with whom, in some cantons, it was an inviolable law never to marry but once; and who, in others, would not survive their husbands? MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BELL. LET. tom. v. p. 330. *et seq.*

ARTICLE XXX.

The Germans were obliged to bring up all their children. Other laws of that nation.

The Germans, who were faithful to the laws of nature, thought it horribly criminal to limit the number of a family, either by abstaining from the act which multiplies it, or by putting children to death. Sentiment and manners, says Tacitus, are more coercive among them, than the sagest laws are in other countries. We may add, that the laws of the Greeks and Romans respecting this important article, were extremely erroneous; for they allowed fathers to expose, or to kill their children, on this false principle, that he who gives life, has a right to take it away;—but it is GOD alone who gives life; and he alone has a right to dispose of it as he pleases.

A careful and regular education of children, has never been known but in polished countries. The children of the Germans ran about naked and dirty, like the children of our poorest peasants. Their bodies, however, gained by the inattention of their parents to their minds; and according to the judicious remark of Cæsar, as they were under no constraint,

as they were not obliged to learn any thing, but were left at full liberty to pursue that activity and propensity to play, which nature dictates to boys, their freedom from control, and their healthful indulgence of their innocent inclinations, gave them that high stature, and that robust vigour, which astonished the southern nations.

The German mothers always gave suck to their children, who were not delivered to the care of slaves, or of mercenary nurses. The children of the father of a German family were brought up indiscriminately with those of his slaves. They fed his flocks together, and lay on the bare ground promiscuously. There was no distinction betwixt them ; till virtue opening with growth, showed the difference of their origin.

Their marriages were not premature ; hence their offspring were more numerous, more healthy, and more robust.

The nephews, by the sisters, were loved by the uncles as much as his own children. Nay, they were even preferred to them, from the caprice of custom. The children, however, inherited the possessions of the father ; and, if they were wanting, the nearest relations, paternal or maternal uncles. The making of wills was unknown among them. The more relations and friends a rich man had, the more he was respected : and a wealthy person in Germany, without children, was not courted by a train of selfish flatterers, as in Greece and Rome.

Enmities, like friendships, were hereditary, but not implacable. We have already observed, that reparation was made, even for homicide, by a certain number of cattle, and of horses. This policy was founded on a wise principle. As enmities are most liable to be carried to a dangerous excess in a free country, its legislation provides humanely for the public good, by establishing an easy method of atonement and reconciliation.

ARTICLE XXXI.

The public diversions of the Germans.

Every nation has had its public diversions, to amuse the multitude at certain times. The Germans had but one, which was well adapted to the taste of a warlike people. Their youth leaped over lances and swords fixed close to each other with their points upwards; and thus displayed that dexterous and graceful agility which they had acquired by being habituated to exercise. No pecuniary requital was made them for entertaining the public at the hazard of their lives. They were only rewarded with the pleasure and applause of the spectators. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXXII.

Their passion for dice.

They carried their passion for dice to a degree of madness. Tacitus is astonished at their violent propensity to that play. They treat it, says

says he, as a serious affair: it engrosses their minds when they are in their sober senses; and they cannot plead the frenzy of intoxication for the excess to which it drives them. For when they have lost all their effects, they often risk their liberty, and their persons, on a throw. And if fortune determines the ruin of the loser, he willingly resigns himself to servitude. Though he be younger than the winner, he suffers himself to be seized, manacled, and sold. Such is their consistent attachment to an immoral object; such is their infatuation, which they honour with the name of fidelity. Their masters were ashamed to possess these slaves, whose presence was a continual reproach to them. They blushed for their victory; and got rid of them as soon as they could. They commonly sold them to some stranger, who took them to a far distant country. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXXIII.

The slaves of the Germans. Their freed-men.

Yet the condition of all other slaves was much easier with them than among the polished nations. They were not served in their houses by their slaves. Their wives and children were enow for the domestic offices which their simple manner of living required. Each slave had his little settlement; and his master exacted of him, as of a vassal, a certain tribute, in corn or in cattle, or in clothing. Punishments were rare, as the slaves could

could not often offend ; for they did not live in their master's family ; and their duties were few. A master never put a slave to death, but in a transport of anger, as he would have killed his enemy. There was, indeed, this difference between the two cases ; he killed the former with impunity. The condition of freed-men in Germany, as in other democratical countries, was little better than that of slaves. We must look for a long and gradual series of ranks, only in nations which are governed by kings. That equality that subsists among the common people of a republic, is a proof, as it is a consequence, of their liberty. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXXIV.

No usury among the Germans.

We need not be surprised that there was no usury among a people who had little use for gold and silver. Prohibitions against that species of rapine, which in other countries were so severe, and so little respected, were useless in old Germany. Extreme simplicity of life; content, and complete satisfaction in having the few wants of nature gratified, guard us more strongly against injustice than the most rigorous laws. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XXXV.

The funerals of the Germans.

The close of life was as simple among them as its whole tenour. They had no magnificent funerals. The Germans burned their dead; and a funeral-pile of chosen wood was the only distinction with which they honoured the remains of their illustrious men. With the deceased they burned his arms, and sometimes his war-horse. Their monuments were little eminences of turf. They thought that superb and expensive tombs crushed those who lay beneath them. They soon ceased their tears and plaintive cries; but their internal grief was durable. To lament the dead, was, in their judgment, the province of women. That of men was, to keep them long in affectionate and virtuous remembrance. *Ibid.*

THE GOTHS.

The origin of the Goths, like that of all other nations, is lost in the darkness of antiquity. They have been confounded by ancient authors, on account of their migrations and conquests, with the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Getæ, and the Daci. The best modern critics have two different opinions concerning them. Some think that they were natives of Germany, that they were the people whom Tacitus calls Gothones, and that they were inhabitants of Dantzick, near

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the mouth of the Vistula. According to the opinion of others, which is generally received, and which appears to be better grounded, they made their first emigration to that country.

Beautiful arms were the only elegance of this people, born for war. They used pikes, javelins, arrows, swords, and clubs. They fought on foot and on horseback; but commonly on horseback. Military exercise was likewise their diversion; they contended for the prize of strength, and address in the use of their arms. They were hardy and courageous; yet prudent; constant and indefatigable in their enterprises; of an acute and subtle mind. There was nothing rude nor fierce in their external appearance. Their bodies were large and well-proportioned; their hair was flaxen, their complexion fair, and their aspect agreeable.

The laws of these northern people were not, like the Roman laws, loaded with a punctilious detail, subject to a thousand changes, and so numerous that they could not be retained by the strongest memory. They were invariable, simple, short, clear; they were like the orders of a father of a family. Hence the code of Theodoric prevailed in Gaul over that of Theodosius; and Charlemagne adopted into his capitularies many articles from the laws of the Visigoths. The laws of the Goths were the foundation, or rather the substance of the Spanish laws. The laws of the Lombards were the basis of the

the constitutions of Frederic the Second, for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. The jurisprudence of fiefs, which is yet in force in many countries, owes its origin to the customs of the Lombards; and England is partly governed by the laws of the Normans. All the inhabitants of the coasts of the ocean have adopted the maritime code of the island of Gothland, and have made it a law of nations.

The very form of the legislation of the Goths gave stability and permanency to their laws. They were discussed by their chief, and by the principal people of all the ranks of their community. Nothing escaped the calm and penetrating examination of so many. And the people obeyed the rules which had been prescribed to them by the representatives of the whole nation, with candour and uniformity. They had no officer among them merely titular, honorary, and inactive. Every member of their state was in motion, was usefully employed. In all their towns, even in their hamlets, there were magistrates, chosen by the suffrage of the people, who administered justice, and levied their tributes in an equitable proportion.

Each person married a woman of his own degree. A free man could not marry a slave, nor a nobleman a plebeian. The fortune which the woman brought, was, her chastity and fecundity. The men were the proprietors of all their effects, as they were the defenders of the country. A woman was not permitted to marry a man younger than herself. The parents

parents were the guardians of minors; but their chief and general guardian was the prince. Conveyance of property, legal engagements, and wills, were made before the magistrates, and in the presence of the people. Obligations, corroborated by so many witnesses, were the more authentic; thus the publick knew what was every man's lawful right; and fraudulent pretensions were not urged, as they must have been ineffectual.

Public and private matters were expeditiously determined, and without expence. The lawyers were obliged to give security for their probity. The blood of the citizens was precious: it was only shed for great crimes. Smaller offences were atoned for by money, or by the loss of liberty. The criminal was judged by his peers, without appeal. But they had one barbarous custom, which they spread over all Europe; the decision of certain doubtful causes by duel.

They punished adultery with great rigour. The criminal was delivered to her husband, who, in consequence of her offence, became master of her life. They who had been illegally begotten, were neither admitted to military service, nor to the department of judges; nor were they accepted as hostages. A widow inherited the third of her husband's land, if she did not marry again; if she *did*, she was only allowed to possess the third of his moveables. If she declared herself pregnant, a guard was set over her: and the child that was born ten months after the death of the father

father was pronounced illegitimate. He who debauched a girl was obliged to marry her, if her rank was equal to his : if not, he gave her a fortune. If he could not give her a fortune, he was condemned to die. For a virgin thus dishonoured, unless she had a dowry, could not marry. Purity of manners they deemed the privilege of their nation. They were so jealous of it, that, according to an author of their times, though they punished fornication in their countrymen, they pardoned it in the Romans ; whom they considered as weak men, incapable of reaching their sublimity of virtue. HIST. DU BAS EMPIRE, par M. LE BEAU, tom. iv. p. 144. *et seq.*

THE HARMATELIANS.

They inhabited the city of Hermatelia, the remotest settlement of the Indian Brachmans. They dipped their weapons in a poison taken from a particular species of serpents, which they hunted, and exposed, when dead, to the heat of the noon-day sun. This heat drew from their bodies a kind of sweat; mixed with which the poison likewise transpired. That venomous matter they had the art of separating from the other perspiration. The person who was wounded with a weapon dipped in this poison, was immediately seized with a mortal numbness, which was followed by excruciating pains, and an inflamed swelling in the wounded part, and by an universal trembling. His skin grew dry and livid; and he

he threw up all his bile. From the wound issued a black foamy matter, the effect of a mortification that soon seized the nobler parts, and terminated the patient's life. Hence the slightest wound into which this poison entered proved as fatal as the largest.

DIOD. Sic. p. 616, 617.

THE HUNS.

The Huns were totally unknown to the western world till they first appeared in Europe after they had passed the Tanaïs. With their origin we are unacquainted : their first settlement that we know, was to the east of the Palus Mæotis. Hence Procopius confounds them with the Scythians and the Massagetæ ; colonies of which nations dwelt on each side of the Caspian Sea. Jornandes very gravely informs us, that the Huns were the offspring of Devils and witches, whom the Goths had driven to the deserts of Scythia. We are told by the Chinese, who better knew the history of this people, with whom they were almost continually at war, that their country lay to the north of China. They were the *Annibi* of Ptolemy. From west to east they extended to the space of five hundred leagues ; from the river Irtis to the country of the Tartars, who are now called *Mantcheous*. From north to south their territories reached three hundred leagues : they were bounded at one extremity by the mountains Altaï; and at the

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other by the great wall of China, and by the mountains of Tibet.

Of all the barbarous nations, the Huns had the most frightful appearance. Their form was a rude mass; the Romans compared it to a block of unhewn wood. Their bodies were low and squat; their necks were short, and lower than their shoulders; their backs were crooked, their heads were large and round; their eyes were small and sunk in their heads; yet they were lively and penetrating. As soon as their male children were born, their mothers squeezed their noses flat, that their helmets might fit close to their faces; and their fathers slashed their cheeks, to prevent their beard from growing. By this cruel operation their faces were horribly disfigured with scars.

Their manner of living was as savage as their figure. They ate their meat raw, and used no kind of seasoning. They lived on raw roots, and on the flesh of animals, somewhat softened, and stewed between the saddle and the back of their horses. They never handled the plough; their prisoners of war cultivated their ground and tended their flocks. They neither dwelt in houses nor in huts; an inclosure of walls seemed to them a sepulchre: they thought a roof was dangerous—apt to fall, and smother people. Inured from their infancy to cold, to hunger, and to thirst, they often changed their place of abode; or, to speak more properly, they had hardly even a temporary settlement. They wandered over

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mountains and through forests, with their numerous flocks, and their families, who accompanied them in waggons drawn by oxen. In these waggons were their wives shut up, where they were employed in spinning, in making clothes for their husbands, and in rearing their children.

They were clad in linen, or in the skins of martens, which they suffered to rot from their bodies, without ever putting them off. They wore a helmet, short boots of goat-skin, and shoes of so clumsy a make, that they greatly retarded them in walking. As their feet had these impediments, the reader will conclude that they had no infantry. Indeed they seldom alighted from their horses, which were little and ugly, but swift and indefatigable. They passed the day and the night on horseback, sometimes riding like men and sometimes like women. They neither alighted to eat, nor drink, nor sleep. They slept soundly, reclined on the necks of their horses. The council of the nation was held on horseback.

All the troops of their empire were commanded by twenty-four officers, each of whom were at the head of ten thousand cavalry. Those large bodies were divided into thousands, hundreds, and tens. But in battle they kept in no order. They flew upon the enemy with dreadful cries. If they met with too obstinate a resistance, they made a quick retreat; and returned to the charge with the swiftness of eagles, and with the fury of lions; breaking into the ranks of the enemy, and

spreading terror and slaughter around them. Their arrows were pointed with bone, which was as hard and as fatal as steel. They shot them with equal dexterity and force, when they were in a full gallop, and even while they fled. In close fight, they had a cimeter in one hand, and in the other a net, with which they endeavoured to entangle the enemy. One of their families had the glorious privilege of giving the first stroke in battles. Not a soldier nor officer in their army durst begin the attack till one of that family had set the example. Their wives feared no danger: after a defeat they were often found amongst the wounded and the slain.

As soon as their children could use their arms freely, they gave them a bow proportioned to their strength. Thus equipped, they rode a-hunting on sheep; they shot birds, and waged war with other little animals. As they advanced in years, they were accustomed to the fatigues and dangers of the chace. At length, when they had acquired sufficient strength, they went to battle, to satiate their natural ferocity with blood and carnage. The only way by which they could signalize themselves, or by which they could live in credit, was to acquit themselves manfully in war. They despised old age on account of its infirmities. None were esteemed by them but the hardy and the brave.

These barbarians, though their minds were uncultivated, were remarkable for their good sense and penetration. They were famous for their

their sincerity. They knew not the art of writing: but in treating with them, their word was a sufficient security. But their sincerity was stained with the horrid vices of barbarism. They were cruel; rapacious after gold, though they had no use for it; and licentious in their commerce with women. They took as many wives as they could maintain, without any regard to proximity of blood. The son married the widows of his father. They were drunkards even before they knew the use of wine: They intoxicated themselves with a certain drink made only by *them*, in which four mare's milk was a principal ingredient.

The Romans imagined that they had no religion, because they were not idolaters. But according to the Chinese authors, they worshipped heaven, earth, spirits, and their ancestors.

The antiquity of this nation is as remote as that of the Chinese empire. They were known above two thousand years before Christ. When eight hundred of those two thousand years had expired, they were governed by kings, of the particulars of whose succession we are ignorant, till about the year 210 before the Christian epoch. From that period history begins to give us the series of their *Tanjous*. Tanjou, which, in the language of the Huns, signifies *Son of Heaven*, was the common title of their monarchs. The Huns, divided into many *bordes*, or *clans*, each of which had their chief, but which were all

united under the government of one sovereign, were continually making inroads into the territories of their neighbours. China, a fertile and rich country, was more than any other exposed to their incursions. To prevent their depredations, the Chinese monarchs ordered that famous wall to be built, which defends the northern frontiers of their territories, and extends four hundred leagues from west to east.

We find, in the ancient history of the Huns, those qualities by which the most powerful empires have been established and enlarged, *viz.* great virtues and great vices. Their virtues were, like their general manners, of a rough and savage cast; their crimes were modelled by reflection and policy. Mètè, the first of their kings whose name is transmitted to us, having grown famous by his bold and wicked enterprises, extended his conquests from the Corea and the sea of Japan, to the Caspian. He subjected to his dominion the great Bucharia, and Western Tartary. He conquered twenty-six kingdoms. He humbled the pride of the Chinese, by his perfidy and violence; he obliged their emperor to make a treaty of peace with him, and to praise his justice and humanity. His successors reigned with glory for almost three hundred years. But their glory resulted from their successful robberies. At length discord divided the Huns; those of the south assisted by the Oriental Tartars, forced the northern Huns to quit their ancient territories; who, towards

towards the commencement of the second century, settled near the sources of the Jaïk, in the country of the Baskirs, which many historians have called Great Hungary, from a mistaken opinion that it was first inhabited by the Huns. There they united with other colonies of their countrymen, who had been forced, by former revolutions, to emigrate, and whose abode was near Siberia. HIST. DU BAS EMPIRE, par M. LE BEAU, tom. iv. p. 377. *et seq.*

THE HYLOGONES.

They were savage Ethiopians. Their name may be interpreted *Hunters*. They were not a numerous people. Their life corresponded with their appellation. For in every respect they seemed *natives of woods*.

As their country abounded with wild beasts, had few streams, and was very dry, they were obliged to pass the night on trees, for fear of those beasts. But in the morning, they went armed to those places where they knew there was water. There some lay in ambush, in thickets; others stood centinels on trees. As the day grew hot, a great number of buffaloes, leopards, and other animals, came to the same place. Inflamed with heat and thirst, they drank to excess, till they were almost suffocated. When they were thus languid, and swelled with water, the Hylogones rushed upon them, and attacking them with staves burned at one end, with stones, and with

darts, they easily slew them. Having distributed their booty among their different companies, they sat down and ate it. They were seldom conquered by the strongest and fiercest of those wild beasts. When they could not meet with this prey, they steeped the skins of the animals which they had formerly killed ; they put them on a great fire, and roasted the hair in hot ashes. These skins they divided among them. To such food they had recourse in times of urgent necessity. They trained their children to take a nice aim ; and they distributed the flesh of the animals which they had killed, only among those who had contributed to their slaughter. Thus they were all very dexterous in an art which was first suggested to them by hunger.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 112.

THE HYLOPHAGI.

They, too, were wild *Aethiopians*. They went accompanied with their wives and children to seek their food. They climbed to the tops of trees to eat the tender shoots ; a nourishment, which, by custom, agreed with their stomachs. By habit likewise, they had acquired such agility, that they were at the tops of trees in a moment. They hopped from one tree to another, like birds ; and had the art of supporting themselves on the weakest branches. If their feet gave way, they dexterously stopped their fall with their hands. But even if they fell, they were so light

light that they were not hurt. They wore no clothes; and as their women were common, they brought up their children in common.

They were often at war among themselves for their places of abode. Their weapons were clubs; and with them they put their prisoners to death. Many of them died of hunger; for they were subject to lose their sight, the most necessary of their senses.

Ibid. p. 111.

THE HYRCANIANS.

In the country of the Hyrcanians there were habitations which they called HAPPY; and so, in fact, they were: for the earth spontaneously produced exquisite fruits in great abundance, which were not known in any other part of the world. We are likewise told, that each vine constantly yielded a full measure of wine; that each fig-tree bore ten bushels of figs; and that their shaken and fallen corn served for seed, and produced, every autumn, an equal and most plentiful crop. In this country there grew a tree which resembled the oak. Its leaves yielded a honey which was much used by the inhabitants. The same country produced a winged insect, named Anthredon; it was smaller than our bee, but extremely beautiful. On the mountains it extracted the juice of all the flowers: they lodged in the clefts of rocks, or of trees struck

struck with thunder, where they made their wax and their honey, which was of an exquisite flavour.

Ibid. p. 602.

THE IBERIANS.

The Iberians, a people of Spain, had a very singular custom. They who had arrived at the flower of their age, and especially those who were destitute of the gifts of Fortune, but fraught with strength and valour, took their arms, and assembled on steep mountains. There they formed numerous troops of robbers, which infested all Iberia. Their expeditions were not attended with much danger to themselves. For as they were lightly armed, and had great agility, it was very difficult to surprise them; and it was impossible to besiege them in their natural fortresses. Their places of retreat and safety were abrupt and rocky heights, to which it was impossible to bring regular forces against them. Hence the Romans, after they had often attacked them, at length checked their boldness; but they could never totally suppress their robberies.

In the country of the Iberians there were many silver-mines; and they who wrought them grew very rich. In ancient times the Pyrenean mountains were covered with a thick forest, to which the neighbouring shepherds having set fire, it was entirely consumed. As the flame lasted many days, the surface of the earth was burned; hence the appellation

of

of Pyrenees was given to those mountains. Streams of refined silver, detached from all the grosser matter which had been incorporated with it, ran along the ground. The natives of the country, who knew not the use of it, sold it to the Phenicians for wares of little value. Those commercial people, importing it afterwards into Asia, Greece, and other countries, made great profit by it. Their avarice having collected an immense quantity of this silver, they put a part of it into the composition of their anchors, that their ships might carry a greater quantity of the precious metal. The Phenicians grew so rich and powerful by this gainful commerce, which they alone prosecuted for a long time, that they sent many colonies into Sicily, and the neighbouring islands, into Africa, Sardinia, and Iberia. But the Iberians, who were at length acquainted with the value of their metal, dug deep mines, which yielded them very fine silver, and in such great quantities that it brought them a considerable revenue. I shall now inform the reader how their mines were wrought.

There were in Iberia many mines of gold, of silver, and of copper. In the last, the fourth part of the mass was commonly pure copper. The silver-mines yielded to those who were least experienced in the art of working them, the value of an Euboic talent in three days. For the masses in the mines were fraught with a very compact and brilliant silver;—the fertility of nature and the art of man seemed to

to vie with each other. In old times the natives of the country were extremely enriched by this labour, to which they were strongly incited by the great abundance of the valuable metal. But after the Romans had conquered Spain, a great number of Italians settled in its provinces, and exhausted their wealth. They bought many slaves, and put them under the tyranny of the directors of the mines. By order of those directors, they dug, in different subterranean places, straight and winding cavities, and soon found veins of gold and silver. Their mines were of a prodigious depth; and at the bottom, they ran to the length of many stadia. Thus were treasures drawn from the bowels of the earth.

They who wrought the mines of Iberia, were never disappointed in their hopes; and if the beginning of their work gave them a promising appearance, at every step they advanced, they had greater success. In some places the veins twisted round each other. Subterranean rivers frequently broke in upon the miners. They diverted their violence by digging serpentine ditches. The perseverance of avarice is invincible. Their most surprising machine was the Egyptian wheel, or screw, invented by Archimedes while he was in Egypt, by which they drained those rivers. By this wheel they raised the water to the mouth of the mine; and then worked in the place which had been overflowed, without obstruction. We are told by Diodorus Siculus, that the machine was contrived with such amazing

amazing art, that it could easily raise a whole river from a deep valley to an elevated plain.

The labour of the slaves who were confined to those mines, produced, as we have already observed, great revenues to their masters: but the life and death of themselves were equally miserable. They had no relaxation from toil; and their relentless overseers, by severe stripes and blows, forced them to efforts that surpassed their strength: in which acts of exertion, they often expired. Those whose constitutions were more robust, and whose minds were more patient, lingered in torment for a longer time;—wishing for death, which their great and insurmountable evils had made them prefer to life.

Among the many curious particulars related concerning those mines, the following one seems not the least remarkable. In the times of which we are treating, it was observed that they had been all opened of old. They had been worked by the Carthaginians, when they were masters of Spain. That famous republic was enabled by its Spanish ore, to pay those mercenary, but brave troops that served in its great expeditions.

THE ICHTHYOPHAGI.

This name signifies *eaters of fish*. The Ichthyophagi inhabited the coasts extending from Carmania and Gedrosia to the mouth of the Gulph, where the southern ocean runs a great way into the land, and has on one side of it, Arabia

Arabia Felix, and on the other, the country of the Troglodytes.

Some of these barbarians went always naked. Their wives, their children, and their flocks were common; and as their ideas were bounded by the pleasures and pains resulting from a state of nature, we must not, among them, look for that delicacy of sentiment, or that external elegance, in the least degree, which distinguish civilised and refined life. Their habitations were near the sea, along coasts, diversified, not by the most agreeable objects; by deep and barren valleys, by abrupt and high rocks, and by impetuous and winding torrents.

The inhabitants availed themselves of their situation. By stopping up their vallies where they opened into the sea, with great stones, they confined the fish that swam into those creeks. For the influx of the sea, which was very strong there, and which was at its height about six in the morning and in the evening, brought with it an incredible number of fish of every kind. The tide returned through the crevices betwixt the stones, and the fish remained on the sand. The inhabitants then flocked to the shore, with their wives and children; and in separate companies repaired to different quarters, expressing their joy for their capture, by hideous cries. The women and children took the smallest fish, and those that were nearest to them, and threw them on the more eminent part of the shore. The men who were in the maturity of their age

and strength, took the great fish. For the sea that washed their coasts, not only produced lobsters, lampreys, and sea-dogs but likewise sea-calves, and many sorts of fish the names and forms of which are unknown to us, says Diodorus Siculus.

As they had no arms fabricated by art, they pierced the fish with horns of goats, or cut them with sharp flints. For necessity suggests many inventions to man, and teaches him to make the objects around him instrumental to the completion of the effects at which he aims. When they had collected a sufficient quantity of these provisions, they carried them off, and broiled them on flat stones exposed to the sun, the heat of which in their climate was very great. When they were broiled enough on one side, they turned up the other. They next took them by the tail, and shook them. As they were thoroughly broiled, they fell from the bone in pieces. The bones they threw together in one place, and made a heap of them, of which I shall afterwards give an account. They gathered up the meat which they had shaken off, laid it upon smooth stones, and beat it for some time. They mixed with it, for seasoning, the seed of the hawthorn, and made the whole into a paste of one colour. They formed this paste into the shape of a brick, and dried it in the sun. When it was moderately dried, they ate it altogether, limited only in quantity by their appetite; for they had commonly more of that provision than they wanted.

ed. They were as amply supplied with food by the sea, as other nations were by the earth.

Yet sometimes their coast was overflowed, for many days, with the sea. As they were then in want of provisions, they gathered the smaller shell-fish, some of which weighed more than four pounds. Their shells, which were very hard, they broke with stones, and ate the meat raw. Its taste was very like that of our oysters. If their shore was long overflowed, and if the wind, continuing in one point, drove the sea so violently on their coast, that they could not gather even the shell-fish, they then had recourse to the heap of bones, which I have already mentioned. They picked out those that were freshest and most juicy, broke them at the joints, and ate them without farther preparation. Those that were drier, they beat between two stones. In short, their manner of living resembled that of wild beasts. This is all that we have learned concerning the food of the I^Ethyophagi.

The manner in which they sought their drink was still more remarkable. They went a-fishing for four successive days; which time, as they had then abundance of provision, was devoted to feasting and to mirth. They ate all in one company; they sung songs which were alike destitute of poetry and music; and they cohabited promiscuously with their women. On the fifth day they went all to drink at the foot of the mountains. There they found streams, to which the Monades, or shepherds, used to come to water their flocks.

Thither

Thither they went in the wild manner of herds, all raising their voices at the same time, which were inarticulate, and merely a savage, disagreeable noise. The women carried with them the children who were at the breast; and the men, those who were weaned. But the boys and girls from the age of five years and upwards, accompanied their parents on foot; and went laughing and leaping to their fountains, as to the objects of their greatest luxury and joy. As soon as they arrived at the watering-places of the shepherds, they drank to such excess, that they were not able to walk. During the remainder of that day they ate nothing; they were sick; they breathed with difficulty; they laid themselves down on the ground; and were just in the situation of people drunk with wine. The next day they again ate their fish, with their former rapacious appetite. Such was their constant and brutal manner of living.

The Ichthyophagi who lived on this side of the Strait, were rarely sick; but they lived a far shorter time than we. They who inhabited the tract adjacent to them, and nearer to the Strait, were a more extraordinary people. They were never thirsty; and they seemed destitute of ideas. As their country was barren; and as they were unconnected with the rest of mankind, fishing was their sole employment; and it amply supplied them with food. They ate their fish soon after it was drawn out of the water, and almost raw; hence they were never thirsty; they did not

even know that man was subject to thirst. Nature had provided for them the necessaries of life; they had no conception of higher enjoyments; and they were content, if not happy. What is surprising, and almost incredible, is, that they seemed to be moyed with no passion.

This account, which I have extracted from Diodorus Siculus, exactly agrees with the account of some Æthiopian merchants, who, in passing the Red-sea, had been obliged to anchor in some of the creeks of the Ichthyophagi. Ptolemy, the third of the name, intending to hunt elephants in their country, sent Simmias, one of his favourites, to examine it. Simmias made the necessary preparations for his voyage, and carefully examined the coasts, as we are informed by Agatharcides of Gnidus. He told Ptolemy, among other particulars, that those insensible men never drank, as we have already observed.

They were not at all alarmed at the sight of strangers who landed on their coasts. They said nothing to them, but viewed them calmly, without any expression of surprise. They fled not from a naked sword that was brandished before them; they were not irritated by threats with which they were tried, nor even by blows which were given them. They expressed no compassion for the sufferings of their friends; their wives and children were slain in their presence; and yet they showed no emotion. They underwent even the cruellest torments, without appearing to feel much

much pain. They surveyed the wounds which they had received with great composure; they only inclined the head at every stroke of the executioner.

We are told that they had no language; and that they demanded such things as they wanted by signs of the hand. Another circumstance is related of them, which is still more incredible, *viz.* that the sea-calves and they lived very peacefully and sociably together; and that those animals assisted them in taking fish with a human sagacity and skill. It is likewise related, that the two species, so different in their external form, had each of them a great tenderness for their offspring, and for their wives or females. To this manner of living, to which they had been habituated from remote ages, they yet adhered, in the time of Diodorus Siculus; either from the force of custom; or from the necessity which was consequent of their situation.

Their habitations were not like those of the other Iðyophagi; they constructed them in many different ways, as they were directed by the place where they built them. Some dwelt in caverns, especially in those which opened to the north, and were consequently refreshed by the shade, and by the northern winds. For those that faced the south were uninhabitable from their extreme heat. They who had not caves fronting the north, built themselves huts of whalebone, which the sea threw in great quantities on their coasts. To these huts, the roofs of which were arched

and which were covered with moss, they retired during the heat of the day. Thus they were architects from necessity; and their architecture was only such as necessity required.

The Ichthyophagi had a third kind of habitation. A sort of fir grew on their coasts, the root of which was watered by the sea. Its leaves formed a close shade, and its fruit was like our chesnuts. The branches of those trees they twisted together, which afforded them an extensive shade; and they dwelt under this kind of tent. Thus were they amphibious beings; partly sustained by the land, and partly by the water. They were refreshed by the coming in of the tide; and they chose situations which caught the cooling breezes.

Some of them had yet another contrivance to screen them from the heat. They collected a prodigious quantity of sea-moss, of which they made a heap as high as a mountain. The rays of the sun hardened it to such a degree, that, with the sand which was mixed with it, it formed a body as compact as a rock. Within this artificial mountain they dug chambers of the height of a man; but they made them very long, and broad, and to communicate with each other. In *them* they reposed in the lethargy of their nature, till the tide brought them fish, and invited them to their prey. They feasted with their usual mirth on the shore; and then returned to these apartments.

With regard to their dead, they threw them on the shore at low water, that they might

might be swept away by the tide. Thus as they were supported by the fishes, they contributed, in their turn, to the nourishment of those animals; a custom which they had practised from time immemorial.

There was another sort of Ichthyophagi, whose habitations were so strangely situated, that they have afforded much speculation to those who were inquisitive into the secrets of nature. They dwelt in precipices which were never accessible to any but themselves. They were surrounded partly by abrupt rocks, and unpassable marshes; and partly by a firth, over which a vessel had never sailed, and which had never been forded. These barbarians were ignorant of all navigation.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 106. *et seq.*

THE INDIANS.

All the Indians were free, says Arrian; as none of the Lacedæmonians, so none of the Indians were slaves. All the difference between the Spartans and the Indians in this respect, was, that the former had foreign slaves, and the latter had none. They erected no monuments to the dead; they thought the reputation of great men did more honour to their memory, and was more durable than the most magnificent tomb.

We may divide them into seven classes. The first, and the most honourable, though the least numerous, was, the Brachmans, who were the depositaries of their religion.

The second, and the most numerous, comprehended the labourers. They were much respected. Agriculture was their only occupation ; and from it they were never taken, to serve in war. No violence was ever offered by the Indians, to the peasants, or to their lands.

The third was that of the shepherds, who tended flocks and herds. They never visited towns nor villages. They led a wandering life on the mountains, and were fond of hunting.

The fourth was that of the merchants, and artisans ; with whom were comprised the mariners. These all paid tribute to the prince, except the armourers, who, instead of contributing any thing to the state, were paid by the public.

The fifth class was that of the soldiers.— War was the only object that demanded their attention. They were supplied with all the necessaries of life ; and even in time of peace they had a sufficient maintenance. Their life was always unencumbered with civil and private care.

The sixth was that of the inspectors, or censors, who minutely examined the conduct of their fellow-citizens, that they might make a just report of it to the sovereign. They examined their cities, towns, and villages. Diligence, integrity, and a zeal for the public good, characterised those guardians of public manners. Not one of them, says the historian, was ever accused of falsehood. Happy was

was the Indian nation, if this be true! We may certainly infer from it, however, that truth and justice were highly revered, and that perfidy and oppression were extremely detested by the Indians.

In the seventh class were comprehended the counsellors of state; those who shared with the prince, the administration of government. In this class likewise were included, the magistrates, the governors of provinces, the generals of the army, and the comptrollers of the public revenues.

These separate classes were never intermixed by marriage. A mechanic, for instance, was not permitted to marry the daughter of a labourer. We need not remark that this regulation must have greatly contributed to the improvement of all the different arts and professions. Each man, in his department, would add his own reflections and industry to those of his ancestors, which had been transmitted to him by a long and uninterrupted tradition.

We shall here observe, that in every sage government, in every truly civilized state, agriculture and pasturage, two certain sources of plenty and wealth, have always been greatly encouraged by the legislature; and that to neglect them, is to overlook one of the principal maxims of sound policy. We must likewise admire the institution of public censors; whose presence and authority in the different parts of the kingdom, must have been greatly conducive to the public welfare: as

they gave necessary instructions to the governors and the judges, from time to time; and repressed that rapine and oppression, which are often committed by men constituted in high authority, and at a great distance from the court. By them too the prince was thoroughly informed of the state of his kingdom; with which, if any sovereign is not industrious to be acquainted, he is, in fact, reduced to a meaner condition than that of his poorest subject: for his authority is usurped and abused by traitors.

The hunting of the elephants among the Indians.

There were more elephants in India than in any other part of the world. The elephant is the largest and the strongest of all terrestrial animals. Some of them are from thirteen to fifteen feet high. The female goes a twelvemonth with her young. The elephant sometimes lives a hundred, or a hundred and twenty years, if we believe the ancients. His nose, which is termed his trunk, or proboscis, is long and hollow, like a great trumpet. It serves him instead of a hand; and does him many services with incredible strength and agility. The qualities of docility and industry in this animal, notwithstanding the enormous weight of his body, approach to human intelligence. He is susceptible of such attachment, of such affection, of such gratitude, that he often pines away when he has lost his master; and even kills himself, if he has

has before killed *him*, when he was transported with anger. Arrian, an author of good credit, tells us that he saw an elephant dance with two cymbals tied to his legs; that he struck the cymbals, one after the other, in musical time, with his trunk;—and that other elephants danced around him; all in the same exact measure and unison.

He likewise particularly describes the manner in which they were taken. The Indians inclosed a great space of ground with a ditch about twenty feet wide, and fifteen deep. Over the ditch they made a bridge, which they covered with turf, that those animals, which were very sagacious, might pass it without diffidence. With the earth which was thrown from the ditch, they formed a kind of rampart; in the outside of which, at different distances, they contrived little chambers, in which they watched the elephants through a hole. Into this inclosed ground they put two or three tame females. Other elephants, as soon as they saw them, went over the bridge and joined them. The Indians immediately broke down the bridge, and ran to the neighbouring villages to call assistance. When they had brought down their strength for some days, by hunger and thirst, they entered the inclosure, mounted on tame elephants, and attacked them. As they were extremely weakened, they made but a short resistance. After they had brought them to the ground, they made a great wound in their necks, in which they fastened a rope, that

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the sense of pain might check their unruly motions. They then ventured to mount them. Having thus subdued them, they led them home with the others, and fed them with grass and green corn. They tamed them by degrees, with blows and scanty food; till at length they became obedient to the voice of their masters, and perfectly understood their language.

It is well known that in ancient times elephants were used in war. But they often made more havock in their own army, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather their tusks, supply us with ivory.

Singular laws of the Indians.

After the battle which was fought betwixt Eumenes and Antigonus, towards the three hundred and fifteenth year before Christ, there was found among the dead an officer, who had brought with him two wives, one of whom he had newly married. A law of the country (which, we are told, is yet in force) permitted not a wife to survive her husband: and if she refused to be burned with him on his funeral pile, she was dishonoured for ever; obliged to live a widow all the rest of her life, and condemned to a sort of excommunication; for she was prohibited from being present at sacrifices and every other religious ceremony. Now this law spoke only of one wife. But in this case there were two, each of whom claimed the preference. The first-married wife urged her seniority. The younger one insisted,

insisted, that her rival was excluded by the law; because she was pregnant. Such, indeed, was the exception of the law; and according to its exception the matter was determined. The former retired, overwhelmed with sorrow, weeping bitterly, and tearing her clothes and hair, as if a dreadful calamity had befallen her. The other, on the contrary, triumphed on the sentence. Attended by a numerous company of her relations and friends, and embellished with her richest ornaments, she advanced toward the place of the horrid ceremony, with firmness and composure. Then, having distributed her jewels and her other valuable effects among her friends, and having taken leave of them, she was placed by her brother on the funeral pile, where she expired in the flames, amidst the praises and acclamations of almost all the spectators; some of whom, however, expressed their detestation of this inhuman custom. It was, indeed, a real homicide, contrary to the sacred laws of nature, which prohibit us from making an attempt on our own life, from disposing of it wantonly; which enjoins us to remember that as we are only intrusted with it, we are only to resign it to the author of our existence. Such a precious sacrifice, far from being a proper testimony of respect and affection for a deceased husband, represented him as a cruel and unrelenting dæmon.

There was in India, in the time of Alexander the Great, a very populous country, the inhabitants of which were governed by a king named

named Sopithes; and they were extremely happy. They were remarkable for their honour and moral decorum. Corporal beauty, too, was an essential quality among them. As they were particularly charmed with this object, they made a rigorous distinction among their children. Those infants whose make and features promised fine proportion and beauty, they brought up; and those who had any bodily defect, they put to death. They paid as much attention to the external form in their marriages. Fortune was altogether out of the question. They were only solicitous to match a handsome man to a beautiful woman. Hence the inhabitants of this country were the best made, the most graceful people in the world.

Sopithes, their king, who was six feet high; the first of his countrymen in personal symmetry and dignity of mien, as in rank; went to meet Alexander. He offered the conqueror his capital and his throne. Alexander, satisfied with the offer, confirmed to him the possession of both. Sopithes entertained him and his army magnificently during their short stay. Among the great presents which he made him, were a hundred and fifty dogs, of a prodigious size and strength, which, it was said, engendered with tigresses. Alexander, to try the nature of those animals, of which he had heard many surprising accounts, ordered two of them, but not of the strongest, to be turned loose into a walled park, with a very large and fierce lion. The lion proving superior

rior to them, two more were set upon him. A huntsman was then ordered to cut off a leg of one of the dogs. Alexander countermanded the order; and sent some of his guards to prevent the stroke of the huntsman. But Sopithes begged that the experiment might be made; adding, that he would give the king three dogs for the one that was to lose his leg. The former order was then executed; the dog's leg was cut off by slowly repeated strokes. Yet that cruelty did not extort from him the least moan; and he kept his teeth fast in the lion, till he lost all his blood, and expired on his prey.

The religion of the Indians.

The Indians acknowledged a Supreme Being, the creator of the universe, an infinite, omnipotent, necessary, and immaterial intelligence; essentially perfect; and from whom all other beings are emanations; as the rays of light are emanations from the sun. This First Cause was named in their language, *Scharrouës Zibari*; i. e. *The Creator of all Things*.

In their belief, there was a great number of spiritual and eternal beings, subordinate and subject to the first Being, and holding of him their existence; the necessary creatures of an Eternal Cause, eternally acting. These Genii were called *Moni-Schevaroun*.

The Indian theology divided them into two classes. The first class consisted of pure spirits, inseparably united to their Creative Cause,

of unerring rectitude, and incapable of vice or frailty. As they were constantly fixed to a contemplation of the Supreme Being, all their faculties were engrossed by that infinite idea; they were inactive, they were annihilated with respect to every other object. Their state of mind almost corresponded with the supreme beatitude of the enthusiastic quietists.

The second class comprehended beings not altogether pure; free, because they were imperfect; and consequently subject to error and to sin. These beings were degraded, on account of the abuse which they had made of their liberty; they were precipitated from sphere to sphere as their depravity increased; till it became so great, that it needed a violent remedy. They were then exiled to a material world; which was created for their abode, and lodged in frail and perishable bodies. This material world they were to inhabit till they should regain their original purity.

Our souls, according to their theology, were spirits of this order; which, having fallen from their primitive perfection, were destined to inform our bodies, that in them they might be purified from their degeneracy, by the sufferings which are inseparable from human nature; sufferings which were not meant as the punishment, but as the remedy of their crimes. If those souls, in their corporal purgatory, instead of improving and growing refined, contracted more corruption, they transmigrated into the bodies of animals, of a higher or lower species, as they were less or

more depraved. Some Indian sects were of opinion, that souls once fallen, never recovered their former state; but most of them were less rigorous, and believed, that, by the practice of virtue and great austeries, they might recover their old perfection, and return to the *Schorgan*, or paradise, which was the abode of spirits of the second order. For this second order was not intimately united to the *Scharrouës Zibari*, or Creative Principle.

After the fall of the spirits of the second class, and the creation of the material world, other spirits were called into existence, of a contrary nature. They were essentially impure, and mischievous. Yet they were ministers of the Deity; instruments of his justice, to chastise his guilty creatures. These Genii, known by the name of *Deötas*, were the causes of all the evils that distressed the universe. The souls, or intelligences of the second order, which after their transmigration into many bodies, whether of men or animals, had sunk to an extreme depravity, were delivered to these malevolent Genii, and by them tormented in the *Naranëa*; a place of darkness; the infernal region of the Indians.

The Supreme Being did not himself create nor govern, by his own immediate power, the material world which we inhabit. He deputed the production and the care of it to some of the Genii of the first order. Those Genii were five in number; and each of them was guided by an inspiration which never forsook him. The Indians had personified this inspiration;

ration; and hence came their custom of associating a woman to each of the Genii who ruled the universe. Our antiquaries, taking most of the figurative expressions of the Brachmans literally, make many absurd conjectures and assertions on this subject, into which they would not have been led, if they had accurately inquired into the etymology of the names of these fictitious goddesses.

These five Genii, the rulers of the material world, were,—Schada-Schivaoun, and his wife Houmani, who governed the firmament and the stars; Roudra, and his wife Parvadi, or Paratchatti, whose department was the region of fire; Ma-Esoura, and his wife Ma-Enovadi, who were the governors of the region of the air; Visnou, or Vichnou, and his wife Lackimi, who presided over the element of water; and Brachma, and his wife Escharasvadi, to whom the element of earth was intrusted. Thus we see, in the physics of the Indians, æther was added to the four elements of the Greek philosophers.

The formation and progress of this lower world were effects of the power of only three of these five deities. Brahma created the matter of which it was composed; Vischnou gave it its form; and Roudra was the cause of all its revolutions. Without insisting on the great resemblance which these three principles bore to the three Egyptian divinities, Isis, Osiris, and Typhon, we shall only observe, that some of the Indian sects united their three principles into one figure, which was

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was an idol with three heads, each of which was adorned with a crown. Yet Brahma had not, among the Indians, any statue or temple, or particular worship ; Vischnou and Roudra were the only two of these five Genii who had altars and priests. Though the former was worshipped more generally, and with more solemnity and devotion than the latter.

Their idea of the form and situation of the visible universe, was extremely whimsical. They imagined that the earth was a flat body, in the middle of which there was a prodigiously high mountain : and that round that mountain, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets revolved :—for in this order they arranged the celestial bodies. These bodies were only visible to the inhabitants of our hemisphere, when they were betwixt them and the mountain ; for the mountain, they thought, was the opaque substance by which these lumina ries were eclipsed. Above the planetary firmament, the Indians imagined six firmaments more, distant from each other the space of a hundred thousand days journey, *i.e.* of six hundred thousand Indian leagues. Each of those skies, or heavens, was destined for the abode of beings of the second order, purified, or pure. They there enjoyed happiness proportioned to the degree of perfection which they had preserved or regained.

In the lower regions of the earth, there were likewise many Naraneas, or places of darkness, in which the guilty souls were tormented,

according to the degrees of their depravity. These different parts of the universe were surrounded with an immense sphere, which they called “The Egg of Brahma,”—and which, they said, was born by a goddess, named *Adarafati*, or *Truth*. DIOC. SICUL. p. 611.—ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. iii. p. 738. *et seq.*—tom. iv. p. 83, 84.—MEM. DE L’ACAD. DES INSC. ET BELL. LETT. tom. xviii. p. 38. *et seq.*

THE ISSEDONS.

Their country was adjacent to that of the Scythians. We are informed by ancient authors, that the Issedons practised the following customs. When a man had lost his father, a present was made him of cattle by all his relations. They sacrificed the cattle to the gods; then cut them and the dead body of the father into small pieces; and of all this flesh intermixed consisted their banquet in the house of the son. The human skull they set in gold, and made an idol of it, to which every year they offered great sacrifices. Thus the son celebrated the funeral of his father, as in Greece he celebrated his birth-day.

It is likewise related of the Issedons, that they were a just and equitable people, and that their women were as robust as their men.

HEROD. I. IV. C. 26.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

Lacedæmon was one of the most famous republics of antiquity. Plutarch hath preserved to us the institutions of Lycurgus, its legislator. They have been universally admired by ancient and modern times. I shall give the reader a particular account of them, after I have made him somewhat acquainted with their author.

Historians differ much in their relations concerning Lycurgus. His extraction, his travels, and his death, are various in various writers. The time in which he lived is still more uncertain. Some say, that he was contemporary with Iphitus, and that, in conjunction with him, he established the suspension of arms during the celebration of the Olympic games. Aristotle is of the same opinion, which he grounds on an old Olympic Discus, or quoit, on which the name of Lycurgus was engraved; and other chronologists, who, with Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, count their epochs by the succession of the Spartan kings, date the birth of Lycurgus many years before the first Olympiad.

However that was, the king his father, in attempting to separate some people who had quarrelled and come to blows, was mortally wounded with a knife, and left his kingdom to his elder son, Polydectes, who died soon after. On this event all the Spartans expected that he would be succeeded by Lycur-

gus. Accordingly he took the reins of government, with the title of king; but as soon as it was known that his sister-in-law was pregnant to his deceased brother, he pronounced her child, if it should prove a son, the indisputable heir to the crown: and from that time he administered the affairs of state in quality of *Prodicos*, a title which the Spartans gave to the tutors of their kings.

In the mean time the widow proposed to him by a private message, that if he would marry her when he was king, her child should be put to death. Lycurgus detested so unnatural a woman; yet he durst not express his hatred of her, nor absolutely reject her proposal. On the contrary, he seemed to approve and accept it; but he desired her to do nothing that might endanger her health, to take no poison that might procure a miscarriage; for he assured her, that the child should be destroyed immediately after her delivery. By this honest deception she came to her full time; and when he was informed that she was in labour, he sent persons in whom he could confide, to guard her, and to prevent any violence that might be offered to the infant. He gave orders, that if she was delivered of a daughter, it should be committed to the care of the women; if of a son, that it should be immediately brought to him, wherever he was, and in whatever business he should be engaged. By good fortune she was delivered while he was supping with the principal magistrates of the city. His servants entered

entered the hall, and presented the child to him. He took it in his arms, and thus addressed himself to the company.—“ Nobles of Sparta, behold your new-born king.” He then seated the child in the king’s place; and gave him the name of Chariläus; on account of the joy which the company expressed at this event; and of the encomiums which they bestowed on the justice and magnanimity of his uncle. Thus Lycurgus reigned only eight months; but his fellow-citizens had so much esteem and veneration for him, that those who obeyed him on account of his virtue, were more numerous than those who paid him the same respect because he was the king’s tutor, and had great power.

Yet there were not wanting envious people, who were enemies to his dignity and to his high reputation. The relations and friends of the mother of the young king joined with her in resenting the humane art with which he had eluded her cruelty and ambition, and took every opportunity to defame him. Leonidas, among many reproaches which he one day threw out against him, told him, that he knew from good authority, that he would soon be king. By this sarcasm he meant to bring upon him the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, and to prepare their minds to accuse him of parricide, in case the king should die.

In these disagreeable circumstances, Lycurgus took a prudent resolution. He gave way to the civil storm, and retired from the malice of his enemies. He left Lacedæmon,

and sailed to Crete, where, with the assistance of Thales, a famous orator and lawyer, he studied the laws of Minos, made a collection of those which he liked best, was introduced to the persons who were most eminent for their learning and rank; and at that time determined to reform the manners of his fellow-citizens, who led an effeminate and dissolute life.

Thus truly sensible and great minds can best accommodate themselves to present circumstances; can best adapt their conduct to their situation. Instead of embroiling their country in discord and faction, they yield, for a time, to the storm with which they are threatened; they are not obstinate in proving their innocence, in evincing the rectitude of their sentiments and actions: especially when they know, that the prejudice, the fortune, and the influence of their enemies have so fascinated the minds of those to whom they are accountable, that their acquittal would be extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Such was the conduct of Lycurgus;—he extracted good from evil; he made his misfortunes redound to his happiness. He travelled likewise from his thirst after knowledge; and that he might imbibe it at its fountain-head. Such too was the spirit of the other illustrious men of antiquity, who were famous for the great events and memorable revolutions which distinguished their lives. Pythagoras, Democritus, and Plato, transported themselves, if I may use the expression,

to the extremities of the universe, to deserve, and to establish that immortal glory which they have acquired. Many other celebrated men travelled with the same view.

Lycurgus, animated with this prospect, passed over from Crete to Asia, that he might be a spectator of the effeminacy and luxury of the Ionians; and that by comparing their manners with the simple and austere life of the Cretans, as a physician compares a weak and sickly, with a robust and healthy constitution, he might gain a thorough knowledge of the different effects which contrary customs and morals produce in policy and government.

It was probably in Asia that he first saw the poems of Homer, which were in the possession of the descendants of Cleophilus. Finding that the moral and political instructions of that poet were as solid and useful as his fictions were agreeable and entertaining, he arranged and copied his works, and afterwards published them in Greece. 'Tis true, the poems of Homer were already talked of in that country; and some detached parts of them were in the possession of a few; but that they were all read throughout Greece in their proper order, was owing to the care of Lycurgus.

The Egyptians reported that Lycurgus likewise travelled to their country, and that having admired one of their institutions, by which their army is separated from all the other bodies of the state, he adopted it at

Sparta, where he established a pure and a noble commonwealth. Some Greek historians agree with the Egyptians in this particular. But for his travelling into Africa, Spain, and India, and for his frequently conversing with the Gymnosophists, we have only the authority of Aristocrates, the Spartan, the son of Hipparchus.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, to whom his absence was of great disadvantage, repeatedly intreated him, by their deputies, to return: for they found that their kings had merely the title and honours of royalty, without any eminent quality to distinguish them from the people. But Lycurgus was born to command and to be a true king: for nature had endowed him with a persuasive and forcible eloquence, which won all dispositions. The kings themselves did not object to his return: on the contrary, they hoped that his presence would check the insolence of the people, and render them more flexible and obedient. The minds of all the citizens being thus well-disposed to receive him, he returned to Sparta, where he immediately determined to change the whole form of government; for he thought that a few good laws would have little effect; and that it was necessary to purify the whole body of the state, which was in a weak and wasting condition, from its noxious humours, that it might speedily and thoroughly regain its political health and vigour. But before he attempted the execution of his plan, he went to Delphi,

to consult Apollo ; and after he had offered his sacrifice, he received that famous oracle, in which the priestess pronounced him, “A friend of the gods, and a god rather than a man.” As to the permission which he desired of establishing good laws in his country, she assured him that the gods had heard his prayers, and that he should form the most excellent republic that had ever existed. Encouraged by this favourable answer, he communicated his design to the principal citizens, and requested their assistance. His friends, to whom he first disclosed his secret, and afterwards all the leading men of the state, promised to forward, with their utmost power, the excellent plan of this persuasive orator and sage legislator.

When the time for beginning the great work was arrived, he gave orders that thirty of the principal citizens by whom it was approved, should assemble in the Forum in arms, at the dawn of the next day ; that they might check the opposition of those who were enemies to his enterprise. Of those thirty, Hippias names twenty, who were the most eminent : but Arithmiades was the most zealous and powerful friend of Lycurgus, and contributed most to the establishment of his laws.

On the gathering of the crowd, the king Charilaüs, afraid that a conspiracy was breaking out against his person, fled to the temple of Juno, which was called Chalciaeos ; but after he was informed of the real cause of the multitude, which was confirmed to him by

the oaths of many of his subjects, he quitted the temple, and joined the party of Lycurgus. For he was of so gentle a disposition, that the king Archelaüs, who reigned in conjunction with him, said one day to those who were praising the goodness of that young prince,— “ How can he be otherwise? he is good even “ to the bad.”—PLUT. IN LYCURG.

ARTICLE I.

The establishment of the senate.

Of all the new establishments of Lycurgus, the greatest and most memorable was that of the senate; which, tempering, as Plato well remarks, the absolute power of the kings, by having an authority equal to theirs, moderated and preserved the government, which had been always before in a fluctuating state; inclining sometimes to tyranny, and sometimes to a licentious democracy. The senate was, in the middle of the political machine, a kind of ballast or counterpoise, which kept it in equilibrium, which gave it stability and permanence. For the twenty-eight senators supported the kings when the people grew seditious and tumultuous; and they strenuously asserted the privileges of the people when the kings were aspiring to tyranny. We are informed by Aristotle, that the number of the senators was fixed to twenty-eight; for that of the thirty, whom Lycurgus had at first chosen, two deserted him, fearing the consequences of his attempt. Yet we are told by

Spherus,

Spherus, that there were never more than twenty-eight, and that to *them* Lycurgus imparted his whole plan. Perhaps our legislator paid some veneration to twenty-eight, because it is a complete number, composed of seven multiplied by four, and the first perfect number after six; for it is equal to all its parts. But Plutarch is satisfied that he chose exactly this number, that the council might consist of thirty persons, two of whom were the two kings.

He had the dignity of the senate so much at heart, that, to give it more authority, he procured from Delphi an oracle particularly relating to the institution of that assembly. These were the words of the oracle, which was termed Rhetra, or a decree:—“ When “ thou hast built a temple to Jupiter Syllanius, “ and to Minerva Syllania, and when thou “ hast classed the people by families and by “ tribes, and established a senate of thirty se-“ nators, the two kings being included; thou “ shalt hold the council from time to time “ between the Babicius and the Cnarium; “ thou shalt keep to thyself the power of “ prolonging or dissolving the assembly; and “ thou shalt invest the people with the pri-“ vilege of ratifying or annulling what shall “ be by them proposed.”

The Lacedæmonians held their assemblies between the bridge and the river, in a place which was neither adorned with statues nor with pictures. Lycurgus was of opinion that these embellishments were so far from being suitable

suitable to the dignity of public councils, that they were of great prejudice to them, by filling with useless or vain thoughts the minds of the company, who, instead of being attentive to the affairs of the state, amused themselves with taking a view of statues or pictures, or an elegant ceiling, as idle people are entertained with surveying the decorations of a theatre.

In the council, none but the two kings and the senators had a right to propose, and to debate on matters of state. And to reject or approve their determinations was the privilege of the people. But in process of time, the people having found the art of changing and corrupting the sense of the decrees of the senate, by additions or retrenchments, which were at first imperceptible, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus added to the oracle the following article:—" If the people alter " or corrupt the decrees, let the senators and " their chiefs retire."—*i. e.* Let them dismiss the assembly, and let them annul what it has altered or falsified. And they persuaded all the city, that the article was added by the order of the god himself, as we find in a passage in the poet Tyrtæus.—" The ambassa- " dors having heard the voice of Apollo, " brought to their countrymen these divine " words:—Let the sacred kings who govern the " amiable city of Sparta, preside at the coun- " cil, with the senators; and let the people re- " port their oracles in all their purity; let " them never presume to corrupt them."

PLUT. IN LYCURG.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

Of the Ephori.

Thus Lycurgus modelled the government of his country. But the Lacedæmonian statesmen who came after him, found it necessary to restrain the power of the thirty who composed the senate, and who had grown arbitrary and tyrannical. Therefore, says Plato, to check their domineering spirit, they instituted the Ephori, about a hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus. The first Ephorus was Elatus, who lived in the reign of the king Theopompus. That king was one day upbraided by his wife on account of this new institution.—She told him, “That he would “ leave the sovereignty much less respectable “ than he found it.”—“ I will leave it “ more respectable (answered he), for I will “ leave it more durable.”—In fact, by retrenching the regal power, he exempted it from envy, and consequently from danger: by his sage policy, his successors were never reduced to the disagreeable circumstances into which the resentment of the Messenians and Argives brought their kings; who would not be satisfied with that limited and equitable power, which greatly contributes to render sovereigns amiable in the eyes of their subjects. We must admire the wisdom of Lycurgus when we recollect the seditions and tumults which distracted the commonwealths of Argi and Messena; the neighbours and the relations of Sparta.

ta. For though immunities and privileges were *as* equitably distributed; and though lands were divided in a juster proportion in those states than at Lacedæmon; they were very subject to civil commotions. By the pride of the kings, and by the refractory spirit of the people, they fell from the prosperous state in which they once flourished, and showed by their examples, that the Spartans were the particular favourites of Heaven, which had granted them a citizen who gave them a form of government, admirably calculated to produce public tranquillity and happiness.— But its good effects were not conspicuous till a considerable time after its institution. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE III.

Of the division of the lands.

Another establishment of Lycurgus, and one of the boldest that he made, was the division of the lands. For before his institutions, the inequality of landed property at Sparta was dangerous and alarming. Most of the ancients were so poor, that they had not a single inch of ground; all the wealth was engrossed by a few individuals. Therefore, to extirpate insolence, envy, fraud, luxury, and two of the greatest and most notorious pests of every community, poverty and avarice, he prevailed with all the citizens who possessed land, to give up their property to the state, that a new and a just division might be made, that all the members of the republic might

might enjoy a happy equality; that there might be no inferiority, but that to which vice should degrade them; and that pre-eminence might only be the reward of virtue.

This part of his plan was soon put in execution. He divided the lands of Laconia into thirty thousand parts, which he distributed among the peasants; the territory of Sparta he divided into nine thousand parts, which he gave to as many citizens. Some writers say that he divided the lands of Sparta only into six thousand parts; and that they were afterwards divided into nine thousand, by king Polydorus. Others assert, that Polydorus, by dividing them into nine thousand parts, doubled numerically the division of Lycurgus. Each lot of land yielded an annual produce of eighty bushels of barley to every man, and of twelve to every woman; with an adequate proportion of grapes, and other fruits; which quantities he thought sufficient for the sustenance of a healthy and active people. We are told, that some years after he had given laws to Sparta, on his return from a long voyage, as he passed through the fields of Laconia, and in the time of harvest observed the equal size of the shocks of corn, he said with a smile to those who accompanied him,
—“Would not you think that the lands
“of Laconia have been bequeathed by a father
“to many sons, who have just divided their
“inheritance?” *Ibid.*

ARTICLE IV.

Of the Iron money. Its consequences.

After he had thus divided immoveable property, his next object was a similar distribution of their other possessions; for one of the leading principles of his plan, was, universal equality.—But fearing that this intended regulation would meet with more opposition than the former, he made it operate obliquely, yet in such a manner as to sap the foundations of avarice. First, he called in all the gold and silver coin, for which he substituted iron money, so heavy, and of so little value, that as much of it as amounted to ten minæ could not be conveyed without a cart and two oxen, nor contained in less space than that of a whole chamber. This new money was no sooner current in Lacedæmon, than it banished injustice, and every other crime. Who would have stolen, or taken as a bribe, a heavy and unwieldy substance, which could not be concealed; the possession of which was not envied, and which was altogether useless in any form but that which it received from the mint? For the iron of which money was to be made, could only be useful under the denomination of coin;—it was dipped in vinegar when it was red-hot; hence it lost its ductility, became extremely brittle; and was unfit for the forge and the hammer.

He likewise banished from Sparta all frivolous and superfluous arts; and if he had not

not banished them, they must certainly have gone to decay; the abolition of the old money must have destroyed them. The artists could no longer dispose of their works; the iron-money was no recompence for their labour; it was too heavy to circulate to any considerable effect, even in Sparta; and in every other part of Greece it was a subject of contempt and laughter. Thus the Lacedæmonians could not purchase any foreign wares; no merchant-ship entered their ports; they were not visited by any rapacious vagabond; neither by sophists, nor by fortune-tellers, nor by quacks, nor by sellers of slaves, nor by goldsmiths, nor by jewellers;—for money is the object which attracts all these people. Thus luxury, deprived of every thing that supported it, languished and died away.—The rich found themselves in a situation not more eligible than that of the poor:—for their riches could not procure them any elegancies or pleasures; they were locked up, and useless.—

All necessary furniture, such as beds, tables, and chairs, was extremely well made at Sparta. The form of the Laconian goblet, termed the Cothon, was particularly famous. This goblet was of great use, especially to the army, as Critias observes: for it was made of earth; and its colour concealed the disagreeable complexion of such water as soldiers are often obliged to drink. Towards the brim it had a hollow circle, which received all the grounds. The Lacedæmonian workmen, in consequence

of the wise legislation of Lycurgus, being no longer encouraged to prosecute the luxurious arts, gave all their attention to those which were necessary and useful. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE V.

Of their public meals.

Lycurgus, determined to eradicate luxury and the love of wealth, made another excellent institution to regulate their meals. By this institution all the citizens were to eat together the same food which the legislator prescribed them. Butlers, and professed cooks, sumptuous beds, and magnificent tables were prohibited. From the meals of the Spartans were excluded all the inventions of luxury, which provoke the appetite to excess, which occasion a languor of body and mind, which bring on diseases and death.—The laws of Lycurgus had singular, and excellent effects: they rendered the possession of money unenvied and secure; they encouraged the society of the table, and yet made it incompatible with extravagance and luxury. His citizens could not enjoy, they could not even display magnificence: for the poor and the rich ate in the same place. Thus, at Sparta it might be said, that Plutus was blind, with the strongest propriety and truth; he was there shut up, and confined to a spot, like a statue without life and motion.—None were permitted to eat at home before they sat down to table in the public halls; for they who ate and drank little

there, were closely observed, and reproached for their intemperance, or for their delicacy of appetite, which made them despise those public meals.

The rich were exasperated at the levelling laws of Lycurgus. They assembled in a great number, gave him the most abusive language, threw stones at him, and obliged him to fly for his life. He escaped the fury of the enraged multitude, and took shelter in a temple. But Alcander, a passionate and impetuous young man, though in other respects of a good disposition, pursued him thither, ran up to him, gave him a violent blow on the face with a stick, and struck out one of his eyes. Lycurgus was neither dejected nor enraged at this dreadful accident. He raised his head, turned his face to the people, and showed them the wound, which had robbed him of an eye. They no sooner saw what had befallen him than they were confounded and ashamed; they immediately delivered up Alcander to him, accompanied him home, and expressed their extreme sorrow for his misfortune. He thanked, and dismissed them, and retained the young man; whom he was so far from treating with rigour, that he did not even reproach him with his violence. He only obliged him to quit his relations, and live with *him*. Alcander, who, as I have already observed, was of a generous nature, obeyed Lycurgus without a murmur; and after he had lived with him for some time, he thoroughly knew, and admired his character;—his affability, his can-

dour, his extreme temperance, the indefatigable application of his mind, and all his great qualities. In every company he contradicted malicious fame; and insisted, that Lycurgus, instead of being haughty and rude, was one of the humblest and most humane of men. And the virtues which he admired, he endeavoured to emulate. Such was the punishment which Alcander received for offering violence to one of the most respectable of mortals: the impetuosity of his youth was corrected; and from a passionate and turbulent, he became a calm and moderate man.

In memory of this accident Lycurgus consecrated a temple to Minerva, to whom he gave the title of *Optiletis*; because the eye was called *optilos* by the Dorians. Some authors, however, among whom is Dioscorides, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan government, assert, that Lycurgus was wounded; but that he did not lose an eye; and that he built a temple to Minerva, from gratitude for his recovery. The Lacedæmonians, however, on account of the stroke which Alcander gave Lycurgus, never after went with sticks to their assemblies.

The public meals were called by the Cretans, *Andria*, and by the Lacedæmonians, *Phiditia*; either because they were productive of union and friendship among the citizens; — *Phiditia* being used for *Philitia*; or because they habituated them to a simple and frugal manner of living, which is termed in Greek, *Pheido*. Some critics are of opinion, that the

first

first letter of the word is surreptitious; and that it was not *Phiditia*, but *Editia*, the derivative of a verb, which signifies *to eat*.

About fifteen persons sat at one table; each of whom contributed a bushel of flour a month, eight measures of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a small sum of their money to buy flesh-meat. When a person returned from hunting, or sacrificed at home, he sent a piece of his victim, or of his venison, to the table to which he belonged; for a Spartan was only permitted to sup at home when he had returned late from the chace, or when it was late before he had finished his sacrifice: at all other times he was obliged to sup at the public table; a custom which was never violated till Agis, on his return from the army, after he had gained a victory over the Athenians, chose to sup at home with his wife, and sent to the public hall for his portions, which were refused him by the Polemarchi. The next day, Agis having from resentment omitted the sacrifice which was always offered on the fortunate termination of a war, he was severely fined by the Polemarchi.

Their children ate at these tables which were their schools of temperance and virtue. There too they heard grave discourses on the art of government; there they were under the eye of severe masters; but whose severity was often relaxed by innocent mirth and poignant wit; and from them they learned to be cheerful and witty, without wounding the repu-

tation and peace of their neighbour. Nor was raillery excluded from their conversation; but their raillery was without malevolence; its intention and its tendency were virtuous: to bear a jest gracefully, was a fortitude to which they thought a Lacedæmonian should aspire. But he who was indulging his jocularity on any one, desisted from it in a moment, when he saw that it gave pain.

The oldest man of the company, pointing to the door, said to each person on his coming into the hall; “ Nothing that is said here, transpires *that way*.”

Every one who ate at their public tables was elected in the following manner. Each member of the society that sat at the table, to which a fellow-citizen wished to be admitted, made a little ball of soft bread. The slave who waited at table, passed through the company, with a jar upon his head; he who liked the candidate, threw his ball, in its round form, into the jar: and he who rejected him, made it flat before he threw it in. The ball thus flattened was equivalent to the pierced bean, which was the sign of condemnation; and if there was but one ball in this form, the candidate was not received: for they admitted none but those who were agreeable to all the company. Him who was refused we may call, *Decadized*; — for the vessel into which the balls were thrown, was termed *Cados*.

Their principal dish was their *black broth*. The old men liked it so well, that they made their

their meal of it; all of them seated at one side of the table; while the youth ate the meat. A king of Pontus, that he might eat their black broth in perfection, bought a Lacedæmonian cook; the first mouthful was so disagreeable to him, that he could take no more. On his expressing his dislike of it with some indignation, the cook replied—“ This broth, “ Sir, wants a necessary and excellent sea-“ soning.—Before you eat it, you should “ bathe in the Eurotas.”

After they had eaten and drank very moderately, they went home without light, agreeably to Lycurgus’s law, by which the Spartans were to be accustomed to walk in the dark firmly and without apprehension.—Such were the regulations of their table.

ARTICLE VI.

The Lacedæmonians had no written law.

Lycurgus, in one of his ordinances, which were called *Rhetræ*, prohibited his citizens from committing his laws to writing. He well knew that the impression of good institutions on the mind, and the vigorous and habitual practice of them, are the surest means to make a people virtuous and happy. For the moral and general principles which are instilled into youth by a careful education, sink deep into the soul, and in time are exerted by easy, by spontaneous acts of the will, which produce a much more effectual and nobler conduct than the austere law of necessity.

Young men thus trained, become legislators and laws to themselves.—So Plutarch reasons.
Ibid.

ARTICLE VII.

Some particular ordinances of Lycurgus.

With regard to inferior contracts, which relate only to matters of interest, and which must always vary according to the diversity of cases ; he thought it most prudent not to limit them to express forms ; but to leave it in the power of a well educated and enlightened people, to lengthen or make them short as occasion should require. For the principal object of his laws was to form good men and good citizens : therefore the first of his ordinances, as we have already remarked, prohibited all written law.

His second ordinance was against magnificence.—“ In making the floors and doors of houses, let no other tool (says he) be used, than the axe for the former, and the saw for the latter.”—“ Such entertainments do not tempt a man to commit treason.”—Epaminondas made this remark on the plain table he kept. Lycurgus had a similar idea before his time—“ An humble roof does not tempt a man to be expensive and luxurious.” A man, indeed, would be totally ignorant of uniformity, who should furnish a simple house with beds with silver feet, with purple carpets, and with all the glare of magnificence. On the contrary, people

people naturally, and to avoid being ridiculous, adapt the furniture to the house. From an attachment to the Spartan simplicity, and from a contempt of grandeur, proceeded the question which the old king Leotychidas asked his host at Corinth, while he was supping with him ;—“ Does the wood, says he, grow “ so glistering and beautiful in this country ?”

The third ordinance which Lycurgus gave his citizens, was, that they should not often make war on the same enemies, lest they should become well versed in military discipline, by being repeatedly obliged to defend themselves. Hence Agesilaus was blamed by his countrymen for his frequent incursions into Bœotia ; by which the Thebans were at length inured to war, and able to cope with the Lacedæmonians. And hence the sarcasm of Antalcidas, on a wound that Agesilaus had received in a battle which he fought against that people——“ You have received a just reward
“ for the military apprenticeship which you
“ have made the Thebans serve, who, had it
“ not been for you, would neither have ac-
“ quired valour, nor have learnt the art of
“ war.”

Lycurgus gave these three ordinances the distinguishing title of *Rhetrae*, that his citizens might receive them as the dictates of Apollo, as oracles rather than as laws. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE VIII.

Laws relating to marriage, and to the education of children.

Lycurgus thought the education of children the most important object of a legislator. To this article, therefore, he even gave preparative attention, by regulating marriage, and the care of children from their birth. For we must not give credit to Aristotle, who tells us, that he endeavoured in vain to reform the women, and that he was obliged to desist from his attempt, on account of their licentious manners, and of the too great influence which they had gained over their husbands, who, as their military expeditions were many, were often obliged to leave them to their own discretion, and to treat them with great indulgence and delicacy, lest they should abuse their freedom. But we are well informed, that he comprised the women in his legislation, and that they were very obedient to his laws.

While they were unmarried, he strengthened their constitution, by prescribing to them hardy exercises; *viz.* running, wrestling, throwing the javelin and the quoit. These diversions were well calculated to confirm and preserve their health, and consequently to facilitate child-birth, and to make their offspring robust. To eradicate all effeminacy, he made them wrestle naked as well as the young men, and dance naked in their presence, at certain solemn festivals, singing spirited odes,

odes, in which they who had not done their duty were severely satirized, and in which they bestowed high encomiums on those who had performed great and memorable actions. By these means they inflamed the hearts of the young men with the love of virtue and glory, and excited among them a noble emulation. For he whose exploits had been celebrated, whose name was famous among the young persons of the other sex, went home exulting in the eulogies he had received: and the irony which was darted against the unworthy, stung them more sharply than the severest remonstrances and corrections; especially as these odes were sung in public; before the citizens, the senators, and the kings.

The young women were naked on these occasions, says the historian, without any immodesty, without the idea of guilt; for incontinence and all intemperance were unknown at Sparta. This custom, he adds, instead of producing bad effects, habituated them to a simplicity of manners, made them emulous to excel in vigour and activity of body, and likewise produced in them a courage and fortitude of mind uncommon in their sex; for it taught them to rival the glory of men, to acquire a masculine generosity and virtue. From this hardy education was derived that greatness of soul which often shone in their sentiments and expressions; of which magnanimity and force of words we have a striking instance in an answer of Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas:—“ You Lacedæmonian women are
“ the

"the *only* persons of your sex who command men," said a foreign lady to her.—"True," replied she; "and we are the only women who bring men into the world."

Lycurgus branded with infamy those who refused to marry. They were not allowed to be present at the games in which the naked young women were combatants; and the magistrates obliged them to walk round the Forum naked in the depth of winter, singing an ode, in which their celibacy was severely reprehended, and in which they expressly acknowledged that they justly suffered that ignominious punishment for having disobeyed the laws. When they grew old, they were not honoured with that attention, with that respect, with those eminent distinctions which were paid by the Spartans to age. Hence every one approved the irony which was thrown out against Dercyllidas, a very brave and experienced general; who, on going one day into company, received not from a young man that respect which was religiously paid by the Spartan youth to their seniors.—"You have no children," said the young man to him, "to pay *me* deference; to rise and make room for me when I shall be old."

The young women whom the Spartans were inclined to marry, they took by force. They chose them neither too little nor too young, but of a regular and striking form, mature, healthy, and vigorous. When a young Spartan had run off with his favourite virgin, she who performed the matrimonial ceremony

ceremony, shaved the bride's head, clothed her in a man's dress, and laid her on a straw-bed, and left her there alone without light. The bridegroom, who was neither intoxicated with wine, nor enervated with luxury, but sober according to the constant tenor of his life, as sober as one who had always eaten at a public table of the Spartans, went into the chamber, untied the girdle of his bride, took her in his arms, and carried her to another bed. He remained with her there for a little time, and then returned to the chamber where he always slept with the other young men. Thus reserved and hallowed he kept his nuptial connection to the end of his life. He always passed his days and nights with his companions; and visited his wife by stealth, using all possible precautions that their cohabitation might not be observed. She, on her part, was very industrious to form stratagems that they might meet without being seen. This secret commerce was often carried on for so long a time, that husbands had children before they had seen their wives in public.

Adultery was a crime unknown at Sparta. To prove this, we may quote a short dialogue between Geradas, an old citizen of Lacedæmon, and a person of another country; who having asked Geradas, what punishment was inflicted on adulterers at Sparta, the latter replied, " My friend, there are no adulterers at Sparta."—" But if there was an adulterer there?" said he.—" In that case," replied Geradas, " his penalty would be, a

" bull,

" bull, that could stand on the top of Mount Taygetus and drink in the river Eurotas."—" But how," replied the other, " could a bull be found so immensely great?"—" As easily," returned Geradas, with a smile, " as an adulterer could be found in Sparta."

Parents were not permitted to bring up their children as they pleased. But as soon as a child was born, his father was obliged to carry it to a place called *Leschè*, where the oldest men of each tribe assembled, and examined it. If they found it well-made and strong, they ordered that it should be brought up, and assigned to it one of the nine thousand portions for its inheritance. If, on the contrary, it was ill-made, delicate, and weak, it was thrown, by their command, into a place termed the *Apothetæ*, which was a bog near the Mount Taygetus. For they thought it detrimental both to the infant and to the republic that it should live; since its form and constitution were so unhappy, that it could never enjoy health and vigour.—In consequence of these principles, the Spartan midwives did not wash infants in water, as was the custom in other countries; but they washed them in wine, to try if they were of a healthy and robust constitution. For we are told, that sickly and epileptic children, who are thus washed, being unable to resist the strength of the wine, die, from their weakness; and that those who are healthy are invigorated by the lotion.

The nurses, too, in their office, used all possible care and art, for the welfare of the children. Instead of binding them with swaddling clothes, they left the whole body free, to give them an easy and a noble air. They likewise accustomed them to eat the coarsest food with a good appetite, and to despise delicacies; to be left alone and in the dark without fear; instantaneously to check ill-humour, squalling, and tears, which are marks of a peevish and mean spirit. This excellent education rendered these women so famous, that foreigners engaged nurses from Sparta; and we are well informed that Amyclæ, the nurse of Alcibiades, was a Lacedæmonian. We are told indeed by Plato, that Pericles rendered the care of Alcibiades's nurse ineffectual, by giving him for his preceptor a slave, named Zopyrus, who possessed only servile qualities: whereas, by the laws of Lycurgus, the important object of education was never to be confided to a hireling nor to a slave, who was made a property by money. He did not even suffer parents to educate their children; but when they were seven years old, he divided them into classes; in which they were taught obedience to the same laws, facility in the same general discipline, and dexterity and address in the same diversions.

From each class he chose a boy who had the most vigorous and agreeable person, who was highest in reputation, who had given the most signal proofs of understanding, prudence, and courage. Him he appointed the chief of his

his class, and to him his companions paid the utmost attention and respect. They implicitly obeyed his orders ; and submitted to the punishments which he inflicted on them without a murmur. Thus might their whole education be termed an apprenticeship to obedience. Besides, the old men were present at their games, and often raised disputes and quarrels among them, that they might have opportunities thoroughly to discover their natural dispositions, and to put their strength and intrepidity to the full proof.

As to their literature, it was only such as was absolutely necessary. The great accomplishments of a Spartan were, to obey, to support hardships, and to conquer. That they might completely acquire these habitudes, as they advanced in years, the severity of their discipline and manner of living was augmented : their hair was cut off ; they were accustomed to go without shoes and stockings, and they generally performed their games naked. When they arrived at their twelfth year, their tunick was taken from them, and a plain coarse cloak was allowed them annually ; hence they were always dirty and greasy ; for they were never permitted to bathe and perfume themselves, but on stated days, which were few through the year. Each class had an apartment in which they all slept on beds of large and hard reeds, that grew on the banks of the river Eurotas. Those reeds they gathered themselves ; as they were not allowed knives, they were obliged to break them. In winter

they

they were permitted to mix the down of thistles with the reeds; as it was soft, and afforded some warmth.

At this age they began to have lovers; *i. e.* persons who were attached to those boys that were conspicuous for the beauty of external form, and for the endowments of the mind. These lovers attended their favourites whithersoever they went. But that those connexions might be warranted by modesty and decorum, they were under the strict inspection of the old men, who never failed to be present at the exercises of the boys; not coolly and from a necessary compliance with the laws; but from an ardent and paternal affection for those disciples of the state. Thus wherever the boys were, they were always in the sight of monitors, and were reprehended if they committed a fault. Besides, they had a general governor, who was one of the sagest and most respectable members of the republic; and who nominated as a chief to each class him who was the most prudent and the bravest of the *Eipeves*—*Irenes*. So they called the youth who had been dismissed two years from the classes of the boys. Their oldest boys they called *Melalaeipoves*—*Mellirenes*.

This Irene, who was twenty years old, was, in time of war, the captain of his band; who, in peace, were his servants, and whom he ruled with an absolute authority. The oldest and the strongest brought him fire-wood to dress his supper; and the youngest boys brought him herbs, which they stole from the

gardens, and from the public halls, whither they went with great secrecy and art: and if they were detected in their thefts, they were severely whipt for their want of vigilance and dexterity. They likewise stole all the meat they could find; for practice had taught them to watch and avail themselves of opportunities. If they were caught in the fact, they not only underwent a severe flagellation, but were condemned to fast. Even in their ordinary course of living they were allowed but one slight meal a-day; that the necessity of finding food for themselves might render them more enterprising and artful. A small quantity of food was allowed them chiefly for this reason; but likewise for another; *viz.* that they might grow the more in stature; for when the animal spirits are not employed in digesting a great quantity of food, which depresses them by its weight, or only diffuses them in breadth, they mount by their lightness, meeting with no impediment, and make the body grow tall. The external form too, by a light regimen, grows more agreeable and graceful: for such bodies as are flexible and fine, more readily obey the direction of nature, who means to make them well-proportioned and active; but those which are pampered and gross, resist her operation by their weight. This theory we may illustrate and enforce by an observation taken from experience:—The children of those women who have taken evacuants during their pregnancy, are remarkably well-proportioned, and

of a healthy complexion; the foetus, by its lightness and suppleness, having readily obeyed the plastic hand of nature. But a more minute inquiry into these causes and effects, let us leave to those whose principal study is the laws of nature.

To return to the Spartan boys: they practised theft with so much caution, and with such fear of being discovered, that one of them, we are told, having stolen a young fox, hid it under his robe, and without the least expression of pain, let it tear his belly with its claws and teeth till he dropped down dead. And this anecdote will not appear incredible, if we recollect what the Spartan boys endured in the time of Plutarch; who informs us, that he had seen many of them scourged to death at the temple of Orthian Diana, without uttering the least complaint.

While the Irene was at table, he would order one of the boys to sing; to another he would propose a question which could not be answered without good sense and acuteness of mind. For example: “Who is our most “ virtuous and most respectable citizen?”—“What is your opinion of such an action?” By such questions they learned from their childhood the characters of the citizens, and were taught the important knowledge of human nature. If the boy whom the Irene asked—“Who was the worthiest man of the “ republic?”—or,—“Who was the worst?” hesitated in giving an answer, his flowness was deemed a mark of an indolent and undistin-

guishing mind, incapable of observing, and being enamoured of those characters which excite youth to a virtuous and honourable emulation. His answer was to be immediate, and strengthened with a reason or a striking proof, expressed in few words. The Irene bit the thumb of the boy whose answer was not pertinent; and that punishment was commonly inflicted in the presence of the old men and of the magistrates, that they might be satisfied of its propriety. Nothing was said to the master while the boys were present; but when they were dismissed, the Irene himself was punished, if he had exercised his authority with too much rigour or lenity. The lovers participated the good or the bad character of the boys whom they loved. One of these boys, when he was fighting another, having betrayed his sense of pain and cowardice by a cry, the magistrates fined his lover for having neglected to fortify the mind of his favourite.

The boys were carefully taught the energetic, the laconic mode of conversation;—to convey strong and extensive sense in few words; to give poignancy and grace to their short periods. The laws of Lycurgus directed that the coin of Sparta should be immensely large, and of trivial value in proportion to its size; but that its language should be succinct in its form, yet comprehensive and copious in its sense. Their children were accustomed, by a long silence, to prepare an animated and decisive reply: hence they were so famous for quickness

quickness and force of repartee. Their answers were like that of their king Agis to an Athenian, who ridiculed the Lacedæmonian swords, and said, “ They were so short that jugglers might easily swallow them.” —“ Short as they are,” replied Agis, “ they seldom fail to reach the hearts of our enemies.”

“ I have always found (says Plutarch) that the Laconian language is extremely concise, nervous, and striking.” Such was the style of Lycurgus, if we may judge of it by some of his answers, which have been delivered down to posterity. A foreigner was one day advising him to introduce the popular government into Sparta, as it was most favourable to the natural equality of mankind.—“ Go you, then,” replied our legislator, “ and establish it first in your own country—set me the example.” We have another answer of his on sacrifices. On his being asked why he had directed the Spartans to offer victims so poor, and of so little value; he answered,—“ that we may always have it in our power to honour the gods.” We have likewise another on combats—“ I have prohibited my citizens from no combats but those in which *the hand is stretched forth.*” Other answers of his are likewise preserved, that were taken from letters which he wrote to the Spartans. “ You ask me (said he in one of those letters) how you are to avoid invasions from your enemies?—By keeping always poor, and by never violating your equality of possessions.” The Spartans having asked him, whether he

would advise them to fortify their city? he replied,—“ Do not imagine that a city is without walls, which, in times of exigence, instead of bricks, has valiant men around it.” We have not, indeed, any certain proof that these answers were given by Lycurgus; however that be, it is well known that the Lacedæmonians were great enemies to prolixity of discourse, as we find by many anecdotes of their conversation. Their king Leonidas thus reproved a great talker, who said many good things absurdly introduced.—“ My friend, your sentiments and expressions are in themselves excellent; but as you apply them, they are impertinent.” The king Charilæus, the nephew of Lycurgus, was asked, why his uncle had instituted so few laws?—“ Because (said he) those who speak little, need few laws.” And Archidamidas replied to some persons who were blaming the sophist Hecatæus, because he had not spoken a word during the whole time of supper in their company.—“ He who knows how to speak, knows also when he should keep silence.” And that their answers, as I have observed above, were often extremely forcible and poignant, I shall give the following proof. A talkative and troublesome fellow was one day teasing Demaratus with a thousand impertinent questions, and among the rest he asked him, who was the most respectable man in Lacedæmon?—“ He,” replied Demaratus, “ who resembles you the least.”

Agis hearing some people bestow high praises on the Eleans, because they judged equitably at the Olympic games, answered,—
 “ Is it so surprising that the Eleans should be
 “ just one day in every five years?”

A stranger gave the following proof of his affection for the Spartans:—“ In our city I
 “ am called by every one Philolacòn.” i. e.
a lover of Lacedæmon.—Theopompus, the Spartan king, who heard him, replied,—“ My
 “ friend, it would be much more to your honour that they called you Philopolitès :”
 i. e. *A lover of your fellow-citizens.*

An Athenian orator termed the Lacedæmonians *an ignorant people.*—“ You are right,” replied Plistonax, the son of Pausanias: “ for
 “ of all the Greeks, we are the only state
 “ who have not learned any ill of you.”

Archidamidas was asked, how many Spartans there might be?—“ Enew,” answered he,
 “ to exterminate the bad.”

Even in their jocularity we may observe, that they said nothing trifling, nothing that did not deserve to be revolved and remembered. He, for example, who was desired to go and hear a man who could perfectly imitate the nightingale, answered,—“ I have
 “ often heard the nightingale itself.”

Another read the following epitaph:—“ In
 “ this tomb are deposited the remains of those
 “ brave men, who, after having suppressed
 “ tyranny in their country, fell victims to the
 “ god Mars, and died before the walls of Se-
 “ linonte.”—“ They well deserved to die,” said

he “ who suppressed the tyranny, which they “ ought to have eradicated.”

They were so accustomed to express themselves in this manner, in apophthegms, or short and strong sentences, that it has been justly remarked, that to *laconize*, was not so much a diligence to excell in bodily exercises as in wisdom.

ARTICLE IX.

Laws for their men.

Their education extended to their mature years. For none of their citizens were permitted to live as they chose. Sparta was a sort of camp, in which all had their portions and public duties assigned them. No Lacedæmonian lived to gratify private views: his whole existence was devoted to the service of the commonwealth.

When they had no particular business enjoined them, when they had nothing to do, they visited the boys, to give them useful instructions; or they went themselves to be instructed by their seniors. For one of the best and happiest institutions of Lycurgus, was that which devoted all the time of the citizens to truly useful and noble objects; which prohibited them from applying themselves to the mechanical arts, from growing rich by much labour and pain; though indeed his laws rendered wealth contemptible by rendering it useless. Their Helots cultivated their lands, for which they paid them a certain revenue.

We are told by ancient authors, that a Lacedæmonian who happened to be at Athens when the courts of justice were open, was informed, that a citizen had been heavily fined for idleness, and that he had gone home extremely grieved, and accompanied by his friends, who sympathized with him in his misfortune. The Lacedæmonian desired to see the unhappy person who had been condemned for having lived nobly and like a freeman. We see by this anecdote, that to exercise any manual labour, to work for gain, was accounted mean and servile by the Lacedæmonians.

Law-suits were banished from Lacedæmon with money. How indeed could *they* subsist in a republic where there was neither poverty nor wealth; where equality precluded want, where plenty was distributed in exact proportion among people of chastised passions? All the time they were not engaged in war was devoted to festivals, games, banquets, hunting, and assemblies for exercises or for conversation. For all those who were above thirty years old went not to market; their domestic affairs were managed by their lovers, or by their relations. It was likewise counted ignominious for the old men to give much application to these inferior objects, instead of passing the greater part of the day in the places of exercise, and in the halls, where they assembled for conversation and instructive amusement—not to form commercial and lucrative projects, but to give to honourable actions

actions their just tribute of praise, and to brand immoral and pusillanimous deeds with their merited censure. As this conversation was happily tempered with an easy and lively vein of wit and humour, it amused while it instructed and reformed. For Lycurgus himself was not a man of that constitutional austerity which is never relaxed: on the contrary, he placed in each of the halls a little image of laughter, as we are informed by Sosibius: and thus he always brightened their minds with the idea of joy; our most agreeable companion at our meals and at our labours.

He was particularly careful to give the minds of his citizens so social a turn, that they should never choose, that they should not endure to be alone; but that they should live like bees, always together, always around their chiefs; that they should be raised above selfish views, and engrossed by a zeal for the welfare and glory of their country. That this part of Lycurgus's plan was fulfilled, is evident from some of their answers.

Pedaretus, having missed the honour of being chosen one of the three hundred who composed their council, went home not only satisfied, but gay. He said,—“ He was glad “ that Sparta had found three hundred citi- “ zens more virtuous than he.”

Pisistratidas was sent on an embassy, with many other Lacedæmonians, to some Satrapæ of the king of Persia. Those Persian lords asked the ambassadors,—“ If they were deputed by “ their republic, or if they came of their own
“ accord?”

" accord?"—" If you agree to our proposals," replied Pisistratus, " we are deputed by our " republic; if you do not, we come of our " own accord."

Some Amphipolitans, who were at Lacedæmon, went to visit Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, who had been slain in their country. The first question Argileonis asked them, was,— " If her son died like a valiant man; " if, at the close of his life he displayed the " character of a Spartan?" Those strangers so highly extolled his courage and his exploits as to affirm,— " That Sparta had not so brave " a citizen as he was."—" Do not say so, my " friends," answered she: " Brasidas was un- " doubtedly a brave man; but there are ma- " ny Spartans braver than he." *Ibid.*

ARTICLE X.

The election of the senators.

Lycurgus at first composed his senate, as we have already observed, of all those who assisted him in bringing about a revolution in the policy of Sparta; and he afterwards enacted, that when a senator died, he should be succeeded by the most respectable citizen who was above sixty years old. To be elected a senator of Lacedæmon was certainly the most glorious testimony that could be paid to human worth. For in that choice the preference was not given to the swiftest nor to the strongest; but the palm of wisdom and virtue was obtained by the wifest and most vir-

tuous citizen of a whole republic. He participated a sovereign authority; he was made an arbiter of life and death, of infamy and honour in a most illustrious state; if few wants, inflexible virtue, fearless courage, and a contempt of pain and pleasure, are to be accounted glorious characteristics in human nature.

The election was made in the following manner: The people assembled in the great square, or in the forum. In an adjacent house were shut up a certain number of chosen men who could neither see nor be seen; and who could only hear the noise of the people, who, on this occasion, as on all others, gave their suffrages by acclamations. Through the midst of the assembly all the candidates passed, one after another, as their precedence had been determined by lot. They, on their part, kept a profound silence as they walked along; while the people expressed their approbation by their shouts. They who were shut up, wrote down on tablets the degree of each acclamation, without knowing in whose favour they were given. They only wrote—for the first—for the second—for the third—and so on in order, for the rest. He who had received the loudest applause, was elected a senator. He was crowned with a chaplet of flowers, and went immediately to the temples, to thank the gods for his good fortune, followed by the multitude; the youth of either sex singing his praise with an emulous ardour, and giving him

him their blessings for having led so prudent and so virtuous a life.

On his return, each of his relations presented to him a collation, thus accosting him—“*The city honours thee with this feast.*” And when all these ceremonies were over, he went to sup in the public hall where he always ate. There he was treated in the usual manner, except that two portions were served him, one of which he ate. After supper, all his female relations assembled at the door of the hall; he ordered her to be called whom he most esteemed: and he gave her the remaining portion with these words—“I give you the reward of honour which I have just received.”—She to whom he gave the portion, was attended home with the same acclamations and benedictions that had been bestowed on her relation. *Ibid.*

ARTICLE XI.

Laws relating to funerals, and to other objects.

Lycurgus likewise regulated, with much wisdom, all that related to funerals. For, in the first place, he permitted the Spartans to bury their dead in their towns, and around their temples, to accustom their youth to the sight of mortality, and to eradicate from their minds the fear of death. He likewise gave this permission with a view to remove a superstitious notion which was very prevalent among the ancients, viz. that he who touched

ed a dead body, or approached a grave, was polluted.

He did not suffer them to bury any thing valuable, or any superstitious viaticum with their dead ; who, by his injunctions, were only wrapped in a red cloth, and had olive leaves strewed over them. Nor did he permit them to inscribe the name of the deceased on the tomb ; except the name of a man who had died in battle in the service of his country ; and that of a woman who had been consecrated to religion. He shortened their time of mourning, which he limited to eleven days ; on the twelfth day they offered a sacrifice to Ceres, and laid aside every mark of sorrow. For he suffered no part of their life to pass away useless and idle : but with all their duties, and with all their actions he blended the praise of virtue, and the arraignment of vice ; and thus made his republic abound, as it were, with living precepts and examples ;—among which as the youth were educated ;—as they had them constantly before their eyes, they could not fail to adopt those excellent models, and to become great adepts in virtue.

Lycurgus, to preserve the Spartan morals and constitution, did not suffer his citizens to travel at their pleasure, lest they should introduce into Lacedæmon, effeminate customs, licentious manners, and political projects. He expelled from his republic all foreigners by whom it had been visited with no useful and laudable design, but merely from curiosity. This he did, lest they should infect his citizens

tizens with the vices of their respective nations: not, as Thucydides imagines, lest they should persuade their countrymen to adopt the Spartan form of government, and the austere Spartan virtues. For, in proportion as strangers resort to any city, they bring thither new subjects of conversation. Those subjects necessarily give rise to new sentiments; and those sentiments as necessarily produce a fatal brood of new inclinations and passions, which are totally opposite to the spirit of the established government, and destroy its harmony, as musical harmony is destroyed by dissonance and false tones. Hence he thought it as important as necessary, to shut the gates of the city against corrupt manners, as against persons infected with a plague.

The Spartans had a very singular law, which was termed the ambuscade. Many attribute it to Lycurgus; but Plutarch differs from them in opinion. Whoever was its author, it enjoined the following barbarity. The governors of the youth chose from time to time, those whom they thought the most prudent and the most valiant. They gave them poniards, and a proper store of provisions; and sent them, in different parties, to traverse the country. These young myrmidons, thus dispersed, lay concealed in the day-time in shades and caverns: in the night they sallied forth to the high-roads, and butchered all the Helots who came in their way. Sometimes they marched forth in the face of day, and slew the strongest Helots, as we are informed by

Thucydides

Thucydides in his history, where he tells us, that those of the Helots whom the Lacedæmonians had distinguished from the rest, on account of their courage, by giving them their freedom, and whom they had conducted, crowned with laurels, to all the temples, to thank the gods for their liberty, disappeared soon after, to the number of two thousand; nor was it ever certainly known what had become of them, or by whom they had been slain. We likewise learn from Aristotle, that as soon as the Ephori entered on their office, they declared war against the Helots, that their young bull dogs might worry them with impunity.

They certainly treated these unhappy men with various inhumanity.—For instance—they made them drink to excess, and then brought them into their public halls, to let their youth behold what shocking spectacles we are rendered by intoxication. And they compelled them to sing obscene songs, accompanied with ridiculous and indecent dances; for they rigorously forbade them to sing any ode that became a freeman, that contained liberal and noble sentiments. Agreeably to this prohibition, we are told, that when the Thebans, who had made an incursion into Laconia, ordered the Helots whom they had taken prisoners, to sing the songs of Terpander, of Alcmèon, and of Spendon, they begged that they might be excused; “for these songs, said ‘they, are forbidden us by our masters.’” Therefore it has been observed with good foundation,

dation, that, at Lacedæmon, they who were free, were extremely free; and they who were slaves, were slaves in the most rigorous idea of servitude. As for me, says Plutarch, I am firmly persuaded, that none of these cruelties were practised till after the death of Lycurgus. They probably took place just after the great earthquake at Sparta, and after the Helots, having conspired with the Messenians against that republic, committed dreadful outrages in Laconia, and brought its capital to a more alarming situation than it had ever experienced before. For, continues Plutarch, I can never ascribe to Lycurgus, so abominable an institution as that of the ambuscade, when I reflect on the humanity of his disposition, on that love of justice, and on that disinterestedness which characterised all the actions of his life, and to which the gods themselves bore a most honourable testimony.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XII.

The Lacedæmonian poetry. Their manner of making war.

The Lacedæmonian poetry had a certain fire and force which warmed the soul, and stimulated it to glorious actions. Its style was at once simple and masculine; its subjects were serious and moral. Its general tendency was to praise the gallant citizens who had died in the defence of Sparta, and to stigmatize those who had fled in battle. The former it consigned, in a future state, to eternal happiness;

ness ; and the latter to eternal woe. Sometimes the citizens, according to their different ages, publickly promised, in verse, that they would one day be valiant, or proclaimed their actual valour, which they knew could be well attested. What I am now relating, I shall here exemplify to the reader.—At all the Spartan feasts there were three choruses, comprehending the three ages of man. The first was that of the old men, who thus began their song.—

Our virtues earned, in former days,
The patriot's, and the hero's praise.

The second chorus was composed of the young men, who thus answered—

To gain the laurels won by you,
Your great examples we pursue.

The third chorus was that of the boys, who thus rejoined—

Already fame our bosoms fires ;
We feel we shall eclipse our sires.

The king, before a battle, always sacrificed to the muses ; doubtless that his soldiers might recollect the education which they had received—that their reputation was at stake ;—and that those goddesſes, being present to their imagination, might inspire them with a contempt of danger, and might impel them to great and memorable exploits. Sometimes, too, on these occasions, the severity of the common discipline was relaxed in favour of the youth ; they were permitted to adjust their hair,

hair, and to embellish their clothes and their arms. Their chiefs were pleased to see them thus gay and airy, like young horses, who, when the signal is given for battle, neigh, from a martial ardour and impatience. Thus though from their infancy they piqued themselves on the neatness of their hair, they were at most pains with it on the day of battle. For then they perfumed, and divided it equally, from the respect they paid to an observation of Lycurgus, who said—“ That long hair “ made an agreeable face more agreeable, and “ an ugly one more ugly.”—Their exercise when they were in the field was far easier than when they were in the city ; and their life in general was far less painful and less restrained.—So that it may with truth be said of the Spartans alone, that in time of war they enjoyed most relaxation and repose.

When they were ranged in order of battle, and faced the enemy, the king sacrificed a she-goat, ordered all his soldiers to crown themselves with chaplets of flowers, and the musicians, whose instrument was the flute, to play the air of Castor ; and singing the tune himself, he advanced at the head of his troops. It was at once pleasing and dreadful to see them marching in time to the sound of the flutes, without ever breaking their ranks, or showing the least symptom of fear ;—to see them meet the greatest dangers with composure, with gaiety. For it is probable that men who go to battle in such deliberate and measured order, are free from any violent emotion ;—

that their courage is sedate and firm, and founded on an assurance of the protection of Heaven.

The king took with him on these occasions, a champion who had been victorious at one of the four great games of Greece. A remarkable anecdote is told us relating to this circumstance.—A Lacedæmonian wrestler was offered a great sum, if he would not enter the lists at the Olympic games. But he refused the offer. And when he had brought his antagonist to the ground after an obstinate contest, he was asked, “What advantage he would reap by his victory?”—He replied, with a smile,—“I shall have the honour to march before my king to battle.”

After they had broken and put the enemy to flight, thy pursued them no farther than was necessary to complete the victory. When that was effected, they retreated; for they deemed it neither glorious, nor worthy of Greece, to put men to the sword who had yielded and fled. And this clemency was as much to their advantage as to their honour; for as their enemies knew that they would give them no quarter while they kept the field, but that they were merciful to the vanquished, they often preferred flight to a long resistance.

Hippias the Sophist asserts, that Lycurgus was a great warrior, and that he served in many military expeditions. And Philostephanus ascribes to him the division of the cavalry into companies, which they termed Οὐλαμοι, *Oulamoi*,

Oulamoi, each of which consisted of fifty men, and in battle formed a square. But Demetrius Phalereus insists, that he never acted as a soldier, and that while he established his policy, the Lacedæmonians enjoyed uninterrupted peace. In fact, the cessation of arms during the olympic games, which, it is said, was enacted by the authority of Lycurgus, shewed that he had a benevolent disposition; that he was a friend to peace and repose. Some authors likewise inform us, (among whom is Hermippus) that he did not at first assist Iphitus to fix the ceremonies of those games; but that being one day, during their celebration, near the place where they were held, he went from curiosity to see them:—and that while he was beholding the games, he heard the voice of one behind him, who expressed his surprise that he had not obliged the Spartans to make a part of so glorious an assembly, and reproved him for that omission:—that on turning round to see who it was that spoke to him, and perceiving nobody, he took the voice for a celestial admonition, and immediately went in quest of Iphitus, with whom he regulated the whole celebration of the olympic festival, which afterwards became more famous than it was before, as it was conducted by a better plan.

Ibid.

ARTICLE XIII.

The means used by Lycurgus to perpetuate the force of his laws.

As the Deity, according to Plato, after he had created the universe, surveyed with pleasure the first operations of Nature, the first harmonious movements of the spheres;—so Lycurgus felt a pure and lively satisfaction when he saw his laws strengthened, confirmed, and revered by their salutary effects, which exactly corresponded with his extensive and sage views. Desirous, therefore, to render them immutable and immortal, as far as that could be effected by human prudence, he called an assembly of the people. He told them that he found his laws were in every respect well calculated to make his fellow-citizens virtuous and happy; but that his mind was embarrassed by a new and difficult article of legislation, which he could not communicate to them till he had consulted the oracle of Apollo. He begged that his laws might suffer no alterations, and that they might pay them a strict obedience till he returned; when he would faithfully execute whatever should be commanded by the god. They all promised him a full compliance with his request, and desired him to hasten his departure. Lycurgus, before he left Sparta, made the kings, the senators, and all the citizens swear, that they would maintain inviolate the form of government which he had there established.

When

When he arrived at Delphi, after having sacrificed to Apollo, he inquired of that god if his laws were good, if they would render the Spartans virtuous and happy? Apollo replied, That his laws were complete, and that so long as they were obeyed by the Spartans, they would be the most glorious people in the world, and would enjoy perfect happiness. Lycurgus committed this prophecy to writing, and sent it to Sparta; and that the Lacedæmonians might never be freed from the oath by which he bound them, he resolved to pass the remainder of his life at Delphi. In consequence of the wisdom and disinterestedness of Lycurgus, Sparta was the most famous republic of Greece for its policy and valour, for the space of five hundred years, during which time it was invariably governed by the laws of Lycurgus. They were never infringed in the least article till the days of Agis, the son of Archidamus; *i. e.* they were inviolably observed during fourteen reigns. For the institution of the Ephori was so far from relaxing, that it strengthened the authority of those laws. In appearance, indeed, it was calculated to guard the liberty of the people; but in fact it enforced the power of the aristocracy, *i. e.* of the kings and senators. *Ibid.*

Reflections of Mr. Rollin on the government of Sparta, and on the laws of Lycurgus.

I.

On the excellent parts of the legislation of Lycurgus.

" That most of the laws of Lycurgus were
" dictated by wisdom and prudence, we
" may be assured from their effects: for as
" long as they were religiously obeyed by
" Sparta (and she was rigidly governed by
" them for above five hundred years) that
" state was extremely powerful and flourish-
" ing. The influence of the policy of Sparta
" (says Plutarch where he treats of her laws)
" on all her citizens, did not so much re-
" semble the government of any other com-
" monwealth, as the conduct of a truly wise
" man, who devotes his whole life to the
" practice of virtue. Or rather, continues
" the same author, as the Hercules of the
" poets, only with his lion's skin and club,
" travelled over the world, and cleared it of
" robbers and tyrants — So Sparta, with a
" coarse cloak and a leathern girdle, gave the
" law to all Greece, which voluntarily sub-
" mitted to her arbitrations, suppressed un-
" just and tyrannical dominion, terminated
" wars at her pleasure, and quelled seditions.
" — Of all these great events she was often
" the cause, without poising a shield, and by the
" mere authority of a single ambassador; who

" no

" no sooner arrived at the republic to which
 " he was sent, than like the king of a hive
 " of bees, he was surrounded by all the ob-
 " sequious citizens : such respect and awe had
 " the moral and political virtues of Lacedæ-
 " mon impressed on all its neighbours."

I°.

The nature of the Spartan government.

" We find in Plutarch, at the end of his
 " Life of Lycurgus, a reflection, which alone
 " is a great eulogium on that legislator. He
 " observes, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all
 " the other writers who have formed political
 " theories, have taken the republic of Lycur-
 " gus for their model;—with this difference,
 " that they confined themselves to words and
 " systems ; but Lycurgus, more enterprising,
 " more persevering, and more a friend to
 " mankind, prevailed with his fellow-citizens
 " to obey his inimitable policy, and formed
 " a whole commonwealth of philosophers.

" That his project might succeed, that he
 " might constitute as excellent a republic as
 " human nature would admit, he blended and
 " tempered in his laws those institutions of
 " other states which he thought most useful
 " and salutary, balancing their inconveni-
 " ences with the advantages which resulted
 " from their union. The council of the thir-
 " ty, otherwise called the senate, was a real
 " aristocracy ; and the privilege which he
 " gave the people, of nominating the sena-
 tors,

" tors, and of ratifying the laws, made the
 " government, in those respects, democratical.
 " The institution of the Ephori corrected the
 " errors and supplied the defects of his first
 " regulations. Plato, in several passages of
 " his works, admires the wisdom of Lycur-
 " gus in establishing the senate, which equal-
 " ly maintained the prerogatives of the kings,
 " and protected the rights of the people. For
 " by its authority each party kept their proper
 " sphere. The laws alone governed the
 " kings; and the kings were the governors,
 " not the tyrants of the people.

2°.

*The equal division of the lands: gold and silver
 banished from Sparta.*

" Lycurgus forms in his mind a new po-
 " licy by which the lands of Sparta are to be
 " equally distributed, and luxury, avarice, and
 " discord are to be banished from that re-
 " public, with gold and silver. All this
 " would seem to us a beautiful, but impracti-
 " cable and romantic theory, did we not learn
 " from history, that the success of Lycurgus's
 " plan corresponded with his hopes, and that
 " it governed Lacedæmon for many ages.

" Though I would not withhold praise
 " from an ordinance of Lycurgus which I
 " have here mentioned, I do not think it un-
 " exceptionably great. For I cannot recon-
 " cile it to a law of reason and equity, which
 " forbids us to take one man's property from
 " him

“ him and give it to another. Yet this was
 “ done by Lycurgus. Therefore I can only
 “ think an equal division of lands worthy of
 “ unreserved admiration, as it naturally tends
 “ to promote moderation and virtue, and
 “ when I consider it as antecedent to posses-
 “ sion.

“ What can astonish us more than to be
 “ informed by the united voice of antiquity,
 “ that an old lawgiver could persuade the
 “ most opulent of his fellow-citizens to re-
 “ nounce their wealth, to descend to a level
 “ with the poor, to submit to a most austere
 “ manner of living; in short, to relinquish all
 “ that luxury and splendor, which are almost
 “ universally, however erroneously, supposed
 “ to constitute the pleasures, the happiness of
 “ life? Yet to this sobriety, to this extreme
 “ moderation, to this severity of political and
 “ moral discipline, were the citizens of Sparta
 “ reduced by Lycurgus.

“ Such a political establishment would not be
 “ quite so singular and surprising, had it only
 “ subsisted during the life of the legislator.
 “ But we know that it kept in force many
 “ ages after his death. Xenophon, in his
 “ eulogium on Agesilaüs, and Cicero in one
 “ of his orations, remarks, that Lacedæmon
 “ was the only state in the world, which had
 “ inviolably adhered to its discipline and laws
 “ for a great number of years. The latter
 “ speaks of the Lacedæmonians in these
 “ terms:—“ *Soli toto orbe terrarum septin-*
 “ *gentos jam annos amplius, unis moribus, et*

“ *nunquam mutatis legibus vivunt.* i. e. They
“ alone, of all the people in the world, have
“ not for above seven hundred years, made
“ the least change in their manners or in their
“ laws. It appears, however, that in the
“ time of Cicero, the discipline and power of
“ Sparta were much weakened and dimi-
“ nished. But all historians agree, that they
“ were maintained in their full vigour-till the
“ time of Agis, when Lysander, though he was
“ proof against temptation himself, filled his
“ country with luxury and the love of riches,
“ by bringing thither immense sums of silver
“ and gold, which were the fruit of his vic-
“ tories, but which sapped and destroyed the
“ laws of Lycurgus.

“ But the Spartan liberty and virtue were
“ not first wounded by Lysander. They
“ were stabbed before by a direct and more
“ formidable enemy. Avarice was intro-
“ duced by ambition. The love of conquest
“ brought after it the love of riches, which
“ fired the Spartans with an insatiable ambition
“ to extend their dominions. The principal
“ aim of Lycurgus in establishing his laws,
“ particularly in his institution of that law
“ which prohibited the use of gold and silver,
“ was, as Polybius and Plutarch have judi-
“ ciously observed, to repress the ambition of
“ his citizens, to incapacitate them from
“ making extensive conquests, to confine
“ them, as it were, within the narrow circle
“ of their country, and to prevent them from
“ carrying their views or pretensions beyond
“ the

“ the limits of the Lacedæmonian territories.
“ In short, the policy of Lycurgus was calculated to defend the frontiers of Sparta, not
“ to make her the mistress of other states.

“ Thus we see, that to train his citizens to conquest was not the intention of Lycurgus. To prevent the rise of the very idea, he expressly enjoined them not to apply themselves to maritime affairs, not to build a fleet, nor fight a naval battle, though they inhabited a country which was almost surrounded by the sea. They were religiously restrained by this prohibition for many ages, till the defeat of Xerxes. They then thought of signalizing their arms by sea, that they might repel so formidable an enemy. But they soon found that a distant and maritime command corrupted the manners of their generals; and therefore they quitted their enterprise; as I shall remark more fully when I treat of the reign of Pausanias.

“ When Lycurgus armed his fellow-citizens with spears and bucklers, he meant not to put them in a situation to be unjust and violent, but to defend themselves from injustice and violence. He formed a society of warriors, that by their valour and their arms, they might securely enjoy the sweets of liberty, moderation, justice, union, and peace; that they might live satisfied with their own little territories, and in a happy assurance that communities, like individuals, can hope for solid and durable felicity

" felicity only from the practice of virtue.
" They, says Plutarch, who deem power and
" wealth the most desirable objects, may ad-
" mire those vast empires which have sub-
" jected the world by violence, bloodshed,
" and rapine. But Lycurgus was convinced
" that to be happy, a state stood in no need of
" enormous dominion. His policy, which
" has been admired by many ages, had for
" its principal objects, equity, moderation,
" liberty, and peace: it was directly framed
" to eradicate injustice, violence, and ambi-
" tion; that destructive passion, which, if it
" had been encouraged by our legislator,
" would have inflamed the Spartans with the
" insatiable thirst for universal empire.

" Reflections of this kind, of which there
" are many in the lives of Plutarch, and
" which are the most beautiful parts of those
" works, give us a true idea of the glory and
" happiness of a state; and consequently
" tend to eradicate from the minds of youth
" the admiration which we are apt to enter-
" tain of those great empires that subdued so
" many kingdoms, and of those celebrated
" conquerors who owed their fame to vio-
" lence and usurpation.

3°.

The excellent education of the youth.

" The long duration of the laws of Lycur-
" gus is certainly one of the most surprising
" particulars in ancient history. But the pre-
" caution

“ caution which he used to make them durable is no less worthy of our admiration. That precaution was, the care he took to have the Lacedæmonian youth educated by an exact and severe discipline. For as Plutarch observes, the religion of the oath which he exacted of his fellow-citizens before his departure for Delphi, would have been a weak obligation, had not he provided for the stability of his laws, by his method of training the Spartan youth, had not he made them imbibe with the nurse's milk a love of his policy. Accordingly, we are well assured, that it continued in force five hundred years; like a lively and unfading dye, which is inseparably incorporated with the stamina of any substance. Cicero remarks and admires the long and invariable influence of Lycurgus's laws; and he attributes the courage and virtue of the Spartans, not so much to their happy dispositions, as to their excellent education.—*Cujus civitates spectata, ac nobilitata virtus, non solum naturâ corroborata, verum etiam disciplinâ putatur.*—Hence we see of what importance it is to a state to inspire its youth betimes with a love of the laws of their country, by their mode of education.

“ The great principle of Lycurgus, of which Aristotle informs us in express terms, was, that as children properly belong to the state, they should be educated by the state, and after a model consonant “ with

“ with its policy. Hence he provided, that
“ they should be educated in public, and not
“ left to the caprice of their parents, who
“ commonly, by a weak and blind indul-
“ gence, and by a mistaken and ill-exerted
“ affection, enervate their children both in
“ body and mind. But the Spartan children,
“ from their tender years, were inured to la-
“ bour and fatigue by hardy exercises; they
“ were accustomed to bear hunger and thirst,
“ heat and cold. And it is certain, that all
“ their severe and painful exercises tended to
“ make their constitutions healthy and robust;
“ to enable them to endure all the hardships
“ of war. This doctrine, to modern mo-
“ thers, will seem harsh and incredible; but
“ their superficial opinion will neither inva-
“ lidate the propriety of the Lacedæmonian
“ discipline, nor our assurance of its effects.
“ For we know from the authority of the
“ most reputable historians, that it bestowed
“ on its pupils all that health and vigour for
“ which it was enforced.

4°.

Obedience.

“ But the perfect obedience to which the
“ Spartan education trained its pupils, was
“ its most excellent and admirable circum-
“ stance. Hence the poet Simonides applies
“ to the Lacedæmonian republic, a strong
“ and magnificent epithet, by which was
“ expressed, that the Spartans alone could
“ model

" model the human mind, could render it
" flexible and obedient to laws ; as a high-
" mettled colt is trained, and made tractable
" and submissive to the will of man. It was
" for this reason that Agesilaus advised Xeno-
" phon to send his sons to Sparta, that they
" might there learn the noblest of all sciences,
" —to obey, and to command.

5°.

Their reverence of old age.

" One of the lessons most frequently and
" most warmly inculcated to the Lacedæ-
" monian youth, was, to pay great respect to
" old men on every occasion; to do them
" obeisance, to give them the wall in the
" streets; to rise whenever they came into
" private company, or into a public assembly;
" but above all, to receive their admonitions,
" and even their reprimands, with submission,
" with reverence, and with docility. A conduct
" suitable to these precepts characterized a
" Lacedæmonian. He who neglected to
" model his life agreeably to their tenour, was
" deemed a degenerate and profligate son of a
" sage and virtuous republic. An old Athe-
" nian went once into a crowded theatre, and
" none of his countrymen made room for
" him. As he approached the place where
" the Lacedæmonian ambassadors sat, with
" their attendants, they all rose and seated him
" in the midst of them. It was therefore
" justly observed by Lysander, that old age

" had not upon earth so honourable an abode
 " as at Sparta; for that it was *there* crowned
 " with respect and glory.

II.

Faults in the laws of Lycurgus.

" If I intended minutely and fully to dis-
 " play the imperfections of the laws of Ly-
 " curgus, I would compare them with those
 " of Moses, which were dictated by Divine
 " Wisdom. But I do not propose to give an
 " accurate detail of every particular in the
 " laws of Sparta, that deserves to be censured.
 " I shall only throw out a few short reflec-
 " tions, which undoubtedly have occurred to
 " many, as soon as they were made acquainted
 " with those institutions.

I^O.*On the law by which they were directed to rear
 some children, and to expose others.*

" Is not every man shocked who hears of
 " their inhuman policy towards their new-
 " born children, who is told of the barbarous
 " sentence of death which was pronounced
 " on those unhappy infants, that brought in-
 " to the world a constitution too weak and
 " delicate to bear the severe discipline to
 " which this republic destined all its subjects?
 " Is it impossible that children who are
 " sickly and puny in the cradle, should in
 " time grow healthy and strong? Have we
 " not

“ not many instances to the contrary? But
“ supposing this should not be true, can a
“ man only serve his country by bodily
“ strength? And are wisdom, prudence,
“ counsel, generosity, valour, greatness of soul,
“ in a word, all the qualities and good effects
“ which are derived from the mind, worthy
“ of no estimation? *Omnino, illud honestum*
“ *quod ex animo excelso magnificoque quærimus,*
“ *animi efficitur, non corporis viribus.*—“ Those
“ honourable, those glorious actions which
“ we expect from persons of an elevated and
“ great character, are atchieved, not by the
“ vigour of the body, but by that of the
“ mind.”—Was Lycurgus less useful to Spar-
“ ta by the laws which he established than
“ her greatest generals were by their victo-
“ ries? The person and mien of Agesilaüs
“ were so contemptible, that when the Egyp-
“ tians first saw him, they could not refrain
“ from laughing. And yet that Agesilaüs
“ made the monarch of Persia tremble in the
“ innermost recesses of his palace.

“ But I may yet urge a stronger, though
“ obvious argument against the barbarous
“ custom of exposing children. Who has an
“ arbitrary right to take away the life of a
“ human creature, except the Supreme Being,
“ to whom every one owes his existence? Does
“ not a legislator palpably usurp a divine pre-
“ rogative, when he arrogates this power?
“ The prohibition in the Decalogue, *Thou*
“ *shalt not kill*, which only enforced a law of
“ nature, condemns all the members of those

“ ancient communities who assumed the
 “ power of life and death over their slaves,
 “ and even over their children, in direct op-
 “ position to reason and to the genuine senti-
 “ ments of mankind.

2°.

The legislator's attention to bodily strength.

“ The laws of Lycurgus were only calcu-
 “ lated to form a nation of soldiers. And on
 “ that account they were very erroneous, as
 “ it is well remarked by Plato and Aristotle.
 “ The legislator seems to have been solicitous
 “ merely to strengthen the body, not to cul-
 “ tivate and invigorate the mind. Why did
 “ he banish from his republic all the arts and
 “ sciences, which produce such excellent and
 “ amiable effects;—which improve the heart
 “ and manners, polish the mind, introduce
 “ elegance and taste, inspire a strong sense of
 “ honour, and give to social intercourse its
 “ most attractive charms? For want of them
 “ the Lacedæmonian character was strongly
 “ marked with the austere and the savage:
 “ faults which were partly the consequences
 “ of their education, and which greatly dis-
 “ gusted their allies.

3°.

Their cruel and shocking treatment of children.

“ The custom of inuring their Youth from
 “ their tender years to bear cold and heat,
 “ hunger

" hunger and thirst; and of habituating them
" to severe exercises, deserves all our admira-
" tion. For by that discipline their bodies
" were made the active and effectual servants
" of reason, ready and able to perform all her
" orders, which they could not have executed
" if they had not been trained to exertion
" and hardships. But should they have car-
" ried this part of their education to that de-
" gree of which we have already spoken?
" Were not the Spartan fathers and mothers
" inexpressibly cruel and savage, who saw
" the blood stream from the wounds of their
" children, who saw them expire under the
" discipline of the scourge without emotion?

4°.

Of the firmness of the Spartan mothers, which was inconsistent with humanity.

" Many have admired the firmness of the
" Spartan mothers, who heard the news of
" the death of their sons who had been slain
" in battle, not only without tears, but even
" with expressions of joy. But I should have
" admired them more, if when they received
" that melancholy intelligence, they had
" yielded to the genuine impressions of na-
" ture; if the love of their country had not
" precluded maternal tenderness. One of
" our generals, when he was informed during
" the heat of battle, that his son was slain,
" behaved with far more propriety than the
" Spartan matrons. " To-day (said he) let

" us think of nothing but conquering the
 " enemy:—to-morrow I will lament my
 " son."

5°.

Their inaction.

" The law of Lycurgus, by which the
 " Spartans were to pass all their life in idle-
 " ness except the time which they employed
 " in war, seems to me unreasonable and ab-
 " surd. Trades and arts he left to the slaves
 " and to the foreigners who dwelt at Lace-
 " ðæmon; and put into the hands of his
 " fellow-citizens only the buckler and the
 " spear. By this institution the republic was
 " exposed to great dangers; for the number
 " of slaves employed in tilling the land, be-
 " came so great, that it exceeded *that* of their
 " masters; and this bad policy was often the
 " cause of seditions. It will likewise readily
 " occur to the reader, that as the human mind
 " is an active principle, men who may dis-
 " pose of their time as they please, who have
 " no daily occupation, no stated employment,
 " will naturally deviate into irregularities and
 " licentiousness. This obvious remark we
 " find verified in the lives of our modern no-
 " bility; whose shameful waste of their time
 " is a consequence of their bad education.
 " Except in time of war, by far the greater
 " part of our gentlemen are totally useless to
 " the state. They think that agriculture,
 " the arts, and commerce, are objects un-

" worthy

“ worthy of their attention, and that an application to them is incompatible with an honourable station. They commonly know nothing but the use of arms. As scholars, they are extremely superficial: they are only acquainted with the elements of literature and the sciences; these they find it necessary to know in a civilized community, lest they should pass for barbarians. Is it surprising, that entertainments and other sensual pleasures; that gaming, the chace, visits, and trifling conversation, should engross the time of such men? But are these employments adapted to rational beings?

6°.

Their barbarity to the Helots.

“ The memory of Lycurgus would be absolutely detestable, if we were certain that the barbarity with which the Helots were treated was a part of his policy. The Helots were slaves who tilled the lands of the Lacedæmonians. Their masters not only made them drunk, and showed them to their youth, that they might be deterred by examples from the low and shameful vice of ebriety, but likewise treated them with the utmost cruelty, and put them to the most barbarous deaths, under pretext that they were a seditious and tumultuous people. Once, as we are told by Thucydides, two thousand Helots were missing

“ at Sparta, and no body could discover what
 “ had become of them. We are assured by
 “ Plutarch, that this inhuman custom of
 “ butchering those unfortunate men, took not
 “ its rise till after the time of Lycurgus, and
 “ that it is by no means imputable to him.

7^o.

Modesty and decency quite neglected.

“ Lycurgus’s disregard of modesty and de-
 “ cency in the education of the girls, and in
 “ the mode of marrying at Sparta, calls for
 “ our severest censure. This circumstance
 “ may convince us that the pagan world was
 “ overwhelmed with errors and darkness ;
 “ and to it we may undoubtedly ascribe those
 “ disorders which reigned at Sparta, as Aris-
 “ totle judiciously observes. When we com-
 “ pare some of the institutions of the wisest
 “ of heathen legislators with the purity and
 “ sanctity of the laws of the gospel, we are
 “ fully convinced, if we are free from preju-
 “ dice, of the excellence and dignity of
 “ Christianity.

“ Of this we have still a more striking
 “ conviction, by comparing the best of Ly-
 “ curgus’s laws with those of the gospel.
 “ That the wealthy Lacedæmonians consented
 “ to a division of lands, and to an abolition of
 “ portable coin, which brought them to a
 “ level with the poor, was unquestionably a
 “ singular and surprising compliance. But
 “ the Spartan legislator enforced his laws with
 “ the

" the terror of arms. The law-giver of the
 " Christians ratified *his* with a celestial maxim
 " —“ Blessed are the poor in spirit,”—
 “ And thousands, through a series of ages,
 “ have sold their lands, renounced their pos-
 “ sessions, quitted their All, to follow their
 “ poor and persecuted master.” ROLL.
 HIST. ANC. tom. ii. p. 32. *et seq.*

ARTICLE XIV.

Of the Lacedæmonian troops.

The Spartan armies were composed of four sorts of troops; of citizens, allies, mercenaries, and slaves. A mark was sometimes impressed on a hand of the free soldiers; it was imprinted on the forehead of the slaves. Interpreters are of opinion that the following expressions in the Revelation alluded to this custom; that all were obliged to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads;—and that St. Paul says, in allusion to the same custom,—*I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.*

The citizens of Lacedæmon were of two sorts; those who dwelt in the city, and were therefore called, *Spartiatæ*, and those who abode in the country. In the time of Lycurgus, the Spartiatæ amounted to nine thousand; and the inhabitants of the country to thirty thousand. It appears that their number was somewhat diminished in the time of Xerxes; for Demaratus, when he gives that prince an account of the Lacedæmonian troops, says that

that there were only eight thousand Spartiatæ. The Spartiatæ were the flower of the nation, and we may judge how highly they were valued, by the distress of the republic for the three or four hundred, who were besieged, and made prisoners in the little Island of Sphacteria. The Lacedæmonians were, in general, very careful of the lives of their countrymen: but a few of them served in their wars; but those few constituted the strength of their armies. A Lacedæmonian general was asked, “ How many Spartans he had in his army ? ” — “ As many as are needful, replied he, to repel the enemy.” — They served the state at their own expence; they did not receive pay from the republic till it was in its decline.

The allies were by far the more numerous part of the troops of this republic; and they were paid by the states that sent them.

Those foreign troops were called mercenaries that were paid by the republic.

The Spartans were never without Helots in their armies; and we find that in the battle of Plataæ, each citizen had seven. I do not suppose that this was the fixed number; and I cannot conceive to what use they were destined. To arm a great number of slaves, who naturally hated their masters for the barbarous treatment which they received from them, and whose revenge was therefore much to be dreaded, whenever they had an opportunity of inflicting it, seems to have been a very imprudent custom. Yet Herodotus tells us, that

that they served in the Lacedæmonian armies as light-armed troops.

The infantry was composed of two kinds of soldiers. One was the heavy-armed infantry; they carried large bucklers, spears, half-pikes, and sabres; in them consisted the chief strength of the army. The other was the light-armed infantry; they carried bows and slings. They were commonly placed in the front of the army, or in the first line of the wings, to annoy the enemy with arrows, javelins, and stones. After their first discharges, they retreated, formed the second line, and continued to fight in that situation.

Thucydides, in describing the battle of Mantinæa, thus divides the Lacedæmonian troops. There were seven regiments, each of four troops, without reckoning the Squiritæ, who were six hundred; of these consisted the cavalry. The troop, according to the Greek interpreter, was composed of a hundred and twenty-eight men; and was divided into four small troops, of thirty-two men each. Thus the whole regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men; and the three regiments, in all, to three thousand five hundred and eighty-four men. Each of the small troops, when ranged in order of battle, had four men in front, and was eight deep. Such was the common depth of their files; but it was changed by their officers, as exigencies required.

The Lacedæmonians made little use of cavalry, till after their war with the Messenians, in

in which war they felt the want of them. They took most of their cavalry from a town in the neighbourhood of Lacedæmon, named *Sciros*; hence those troops were called *Sciritæ*, or *Squiritæ*. They were always at the head of the left wing, to which place they claimed a right. *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 53. *et seq.**

ARTICLE XV.

The character of the Lacedæmonians.

Mr. Bossuet has drawn the character of the Lacedæmonians by comparing it with that of the Athenians. Mr. Rollin, in his Ancient History, has copied this part of Mr. Bossuet's masterly work; I shall likewise take the liberty to transcribe it, as it will make the reader thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the two republics.

" Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the greatest of all the Grecian republics. It was not in the power of human nature to excell the Athenians in wit, and the Lacedæmonians in strength. Pleasure was the universal object at Athens; at Lacedæmon a hard and laborious life. Each of the states loved glory and liberty;—but at Athens liberty often degenerated into licentiousness: at Lacedæmon, constrained by severe laws, the more she was repressed at home, the more she was active and victorious abroad. Athens, too, was fond of conquest; but on a principle different from that which animated Lacedæmon. Interest was mixed with her love of glory. Her citizens

" citizens were excellent mariners ; she grew
" rich by the sea, of which she had acquired
" the sovereignty. To maintain her empire
" on that element, she was insatiable of con-
" quest ; and her wealth, which had stimu-
" lated her martial spirit, enabled her to ex-
" tend her dominion. But wealth was de-
" spised at Lacedæmon. As all her laws tend-
" ed to form a military republic, the glory of
" arms was the only object that could attach
" the minds of her citizens. Hence they too
" were inflamed with the love of empire ; and
" the less they were influenced by interest, the
" more they were actuated by ambition.

" Lacedæmon, by her temperance and re-
" gularity, was firm and equal in her private
" life, and in her political conduct. Athens
" was lively and volatile, and not sufficiently
" controled by her policy. Philosophy and
" the laws had indeed fine effects on the acute
" and elegant genius of her sons. But reason
" alone was insufficient to govern them. A
" sage Athenian, and one who was well ac-
" quainted with the disposition of his coun-
" trymen, informs us, that fear was necessa-
" ry to check their enterprising and ardent
" spirit ; and that they grew quite untractable
" after the victory of Salamis, when they
" were no longer afraid of the Persians.

" They were then ruined by two delusive
" objects, their glory and their fancied secu-
" rity. They no longer paid attention to their
" magistrates ; and as Persia, says Plato, was
" harassed with excessive power, Athens felt
" all

“ all the fatal consequences of excessive liberty.

“ These two great repubicks, so different in their manners and in public life, distressed one another in consequence of the project that each had formed to subject all Greece; and were always reciprocal enemies, more from their opposition of interest, than of character.

“ The other Greek states watched the ambition of either commonwealth with a jealous eye. For, besides the love of liberty, which was firmly rooted in them all, they disliked both governments. That of Lacedæmon was austere: rigour and ferocity were two disagreeable characteristics of her citizens. A too rigid policy, and a too laborious life, rendered them haughty and imperious; besides, had *they* been their masters, they never could have hoped to enjoy peace: for a people trained only to arms, make war their sole persuit. Thus the Lacedæmonians were intent on the acquisition of empire, and all their neighbours dreaded their success.

“ The Athenians were naturally mild and agreeable. Their city was the residence of pleasure and of joy, where the scene was continually varying, by festivals, games, a display of genius, and an indulgence of the softer passions. But the inequality of their conduct disgusted their allies, and was yet more intolerable to their subjects; who were slaves to the caprice of a flattered people, “ which,

“ which, as Plato remarks, is yet more oppressive and dangerous than the extravagancies of a flattered prince.

“ These two rival states suffered not Greece to enjoy durable repose. The Peloponnesian and other wars were either occasioned or prolonged by the jealousy that perpetually subsisted between Athens and Lacedæmon. But those alarms which kept Greece vigilant and active, supported her liberty, and prevented her from becoming the slave of either competitor.

“ The Persians availed themselves of the unhappy situation of Greece. The master-spring of their policy was, to foment her jealousies, and to multiply her divisions. The Lacedæmonians, who were the more ambitious rivals, first invited them to take a part in the quarrels which distracted the Grecian republics. They entered Greece under the specious name of auxiliaries, but with a view to enslave the whole nation, which they weakened yet more, by exacerbating its disputes; ready, at the favourable moment, to subject it to their empire. In the wars by which the republics were now distressed, they applied to the Persian monarch alone for protection and peace: they styled him the *Great King*, or emphatically, *The King*, as if they had already been his vassals. But the spirit of ancient Greece made some glorious efforts ere it fell a victim to barbarians: like a dying lamp, it expanded and vibrated before its extinction.

“ Grecian

“ Grecian kings who reigned over a small
 “ number of subjects, undertook to oppose
 “ the great monarch of Persia, and to ruin
 “ his empire. Agesilaus, the Spartan king,
 “ with a few troops inured to Lacedæmonian
 “ discipline, made the Persians tremble in
 “ Asia Minor, and gave them dreadful proofs
 “ that the Greeks were greatly their superi-
 “ ors in war. The retreat of the little army
 “ of ten thousand Greeks, who, on the death
 “ of the younger Cyrus, and before the reign
 “ of Agesilaus, marched through the Persian
 “ empire, in spite of the numerous and victo-
 “ rious troops of Artaxerxes, and by their
 “ unparalleled conduct and valour, were re-
 “ stored to their country — *that* retreat a-
 “ lone might have convinced Greece more
 “ than any other instance, that she was in-
 “ vincible and irresistible ; and that it was
 “ owing to her divisions alone that she was
 “ subdued by an ignoble enemy, who would
 “ never have conquered her, if her forces had
 “ been united.” *Ibid.* tom. iii. p. 77. *et seq.*

ARTICLE XVI.

Of the Xenalasia.

The Xenalasia was a law by which the Lacedæmonians prohibited strangers from visiting their country. We have already had occasion to speak of this extraordinary law. Mr. de la Nauze of the academy of Belles Lettres has traced it up to its origin, has assigned the motives from which it was enacted, has shewn

its advantages and inconveniences, its general consequences, and the instances in which it was infringed. An extract of the observations and reflections of that learned academician will not, I flatter myself, be disagreeable to the reader.

Origin of the Xenalafia.

We may collect from Herodotus that the Xenalafia was established at Lacedæmon some ages before the time of Lycurgus, to whom that author ascribes its abolition. Yet Xenophon, in his treatise on the Lacedæmonian republic, as it was founded by Lycurgus, makes him the author of it. Plutarch, in many passages of his works, asserts, that it was one of his laws. Apsines says, that Lycurgus made a law which expelled strangers from his republic. Theophilus says likewise, that foreigners were prohibited to enter Lacedæmon, according to a law which had been enacted by Lycurgus. Other authors who mention this law, among whom are, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Theopompos, Nicolaus Damascenus, Aristides, Libanus, Syrianus, and Josephus, not to mention Tzetzes, and the Scholiast of Aristophanes, and of Suidas,—all these authors are of opinion, that this law was in force in the flourishing times of the republic : *i. e.* when it was governed by the institutions of Lycurgus. We need not have recourse to all these authorities : the Lacedæmonian Xenalafia evidently claims that legislator for its founder, by its connexion with his other laws.

Their singularity and rigour rendered it necessary ; and from the whole strain of Lycurgus's legislation, we may be certain that none but he was the author of this law.

The Xenalasia was enacted, says Thucydides, to prevent strangers from learning and adopting the Lacedæmonian policy and morals. But this reason is not admitted by Plutarch, who says, that Lycurgus refused foreigners access to his commonwealth, not lest they should imitate his laws, and by them acquire habits of heroic virtue ; but lest they should infect his citizens with their licentious manners. He likewise informs us, that the exclusion of strangers was not universal, but was only meant to expel those who might be found in Lacedæmon, and could give no good reason for having visited that republic.

Foreigners, without exception, were certainly not prohibited to enter Lacedæmon. Lycurgus himself invited Thales thither from Crete, (who brightened the wisdom of a great legislator with the fire of the poet) that he might give the austerity of the Spartan laws an attractive air, by the harmony, strength, and beauty of numbers. The Lacedæmonians received Thales by an express command of the oracle ; and attributed to his arrival the cessation of a plague by which they had been long afflicted. Some time after, the magistrates invited the poet Terpander from Lesbos, who, by the power of verse, calmed a sedition of the people. Pherecydes too, who most probably was an Athenian, visited Sparta ; and those

those three bards, who, with great diligence, inculcated, in poetry, the maxims of the new republic, received from it many distinguished honours. Pherecydes, it is true, came afterwards to an untimely and unhappy death. He fell a victim to the public good : and the kings of Sparta kept his skin with a religious veneration, in obedience to the command of an oracle.

There was another class of strangers whom Athens was happy to receive, and from whom she feared no injury to the plan of her legislator. I speak of her military allies who came to her assistance. Thus almost in the infancy of the republic, and in the reign of Teleclus, the Ægidæ, who were a Theban family, came from Boeotia to Sparta, to aid the Lacedæmonians in taking three adjacent towns which the Dorians had left to the ancient inhabitants. The general of that auxiliary troop was Timomachus, under whose directions the Spartans first put in practice the military laws and discipline which they had received from Lycurgus.

The advantages of the Xenalasia.

We must allow that the Xenalasia had its advantages. It prevented that perfidy and violence which are too often committed by foreigners. When it was enacted, Lacedæmon had no longer to fear, that another Hercules, after being received within her walls, would murder her princes, nor that another Paris would elope with the wife of his royal

friend ; nor that other Minyæ, with the blackest ingratitude, would conspire against those to whom they were indebted for the most generous hospitality. The people were guarded by this law, from the observations of artful spies, and from the malevolence or contagion of every profligate stranger. The strength of the state, by being unknown, was more formidable to its neighbours. Any weakness, of which they might have taken advantage, was concealed from their view. Every thing was a mystery to them : not only the internal operations of the commonwealth, its councils and secret projects, but even its policy and manners. Nothing could inspire them with more reverence and dread of Lacedæmon.

All antiquity knew that the Spartans were extraordinary men. But foreigners were not permitted to have ocular demonstration whether they were distinguished from the rest of the world by good or bad qualities. Hence the mere idea of their singularity was magnified to prodigious merit, by the natural propensity of mankind to admire, and idolize whatever is involved in obscurity. Perhaps, indeed, they are indebted to the insurmountable barrier of the Xenalasia, for the profuse encomiums, which have been paid them by writers of all ages. It is with states as with individuals, they may both acquire great respect from the world, and they may both incur a certain degree of its contempt, by admitting it to too much familiarity.

Rome,

Rome, by degrees, lessened the dignity of citizen, by making it too common. Lacedæmon; by her great reserve in granting that honour; made it highly respectable, especially in the latter times of the republic. As the title of citizen then exacted from those who bore it, a less austere and laborious life, it was more highly valued by strangers. Of this we have a remarkable instance in Herodotus. The Lacedæmonians were desirous to engage in their service, Tisamenes, a native of Elis, and a famous diviner, that with their kings he might head their troops against the Persians. The oracle had commanded them to solicit his assistance; for they never suffered a foreign general to command their armies, but from motives superior to those of common policy. They made him, therefore, very advantageous offers. They were refused, however, by Tisamenes, who demanded, instead of them, the privileges of a Spartan citizen. At first they haughtily rejected his proposal; but they were obliged to comply with it, on the approach of the enemy. Tisamenes demanded the same honour for his brother Hegias, on whom they likewise conferred it, in that pressing juncture. Tisamenes and Hegias, adds Herodotus, were the two only persons whom the Lacedæmonians ever incorporated with their citizens. This remark of the historian is erroneous; but his account of the transaction evidently shows, that in his time the privileges of a Spartan citizen were greatly esteemed, and industriously sought.

That they were thought very honourable by the Athenians, is indisputable, from ancient history : for they publickly complained of the illiberality of the Spartans, in refusing to make foreigners free of their commonwealth.

The great advantage of the Xenalasia, was, that it prevented those innovations which the commerce of a state with foreigners always produces in its language and manners. The maxims once established among the Lacedæmonians were, by this institution, more firm and vigorous in their influence: their purity was corrupted by no unwholesome mixture: they were durable and uniform; the passion for novelty was not inspired by the sight of different manners; and if the caprice or licentious disposition of individuals inclined them to a foreign mode of living, that dangerous taste was not cherished by their frequent conversation with strangers. Irregularity of life was, consequently, rare at Lacedæmon; and when it happened, it was more easily remedied in that state than in any other.

Nature has imprinted in the heart of man, an affection for his countrymen, and a dislike of other people. However liberal and philosophical their minds may be, they often carry their national prejudices with them, even to those foreign countries in which they intend to reside. Those of the best hearts and understandings necessarily take thither new modes of thinking, speaking, and acting, and such as may disturb the order of a state, in which perfect regularity and harmony should reign.

Now

Now the great aim, the ultimate ambition of Lycurgus, was, to make his policy consistent and permanent, to give it such force by the powerful influence of education and manners, by internal co-operation, that it could only be disconcerted by external shocks. According to this plan of the legislator, all foreigners were enemies to Lacedæmon, were dangerous and infected. Lycurgus, therefore, excluded them from Sparta; for he thought it was the duty of a law-giver to prevent corruption of manners with more precaution than even contagious maladies.

The sentiments of Plato were almost the same. In the system of his republic he did not admit strangers but with great restrictions, lest the mixture of foreign manners should produce disorder and confusion. The Romans sometimes found that the easy access of all foreigners to their commonwealth was attended with bad consequences, which they endeavoured to remedy by the Mutian and Licinian laws. And does not our *droit d'aubaine* (or the king's inheritance of a foreigner's possessions who dies in our country without a French heir) prove, that our ancestors were not inclined to favour the establishment of strangers in France?—We must, however, allow, that they have nowhere been proscribed with so much rigour, as by the Xenalasia of Lacedæmon. And we must likewise allow, that Lycurgus had more cogent reasons to preclude their admittance to his commonwealth, than any other legislator.

His plan was to establish a form of government, and an education, equally singular and extraordinary.—A simple religion, unadorned with that external pomp, which in other countries, was the principal object of the worshipper.—A devotion free from the load of superstition, which encumbered every state but his own.—Feasts and games, at which the youth of either sex appeared naked.—An equal division of lands, by which every individual had just enough to support him.—An obligation on his citizens to eat together in public with the severest frugality.—An entire proscription of gold and silver.—An absolute restriction from buying and selling, from giving or receiving, from cultivating any art or science, from application to commerce and maritime affairs; from visiting other states, and even from making their maxims the topics of conversation. The whole strain of this policy would have been impracticable, if Sparta had been accessible to foreigners. At least, some of the laws of Lycurgus would have been extremely imprudent; and others it would have been impossible to obey. Hence we see, that the Xenalasia was an indispensable institution at Lacedæmon.

The severity of this law was not relaxed with impunity: Admittance into Sparta was granted to some Scythians, who were intemperate in wine. The king Cleomenes was corrupted by their example; and his excesses were attended with fatal consequences. Effeminate Asiatics, or intriguing Greeks,

Greeks, were likewise, at length, permitted to visit that commonwealth; and the Lacedæmonian women, who had never before been accused of any licentious commerce with the men of their own country, soon prostituted themselves to strangers. Alcibiades was well received at Sparta: and that republic having attempted, by his advice, to make herself the sovereign of the sea, lost her power by land. Were we to point out all the evils which were brought upon her by foreigners, we should multiply our observations to a prodigious number. The Xenalasia, therefore, had its great advantages; but it was likewise the cause of great inconveniences.

The inconveniences of the Xenalasia.

Sparta, by refusing to receive strangers, openly abjured the rights of hospitality, rights founded on nature, consecrated by all religions, and established for the support of society, and for the honour of human nature. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, by this barbarous law, proclaimed to the world that they were a savage, inhuman, unnatural, and impious people. Whatever advantages they derived from their Xenalasia, they bought them too dear. If they were feared, they were likewise hated by other states, on account of their severe and unsocial policy. How indeed could a people be respected, who, by rigorously excluding all the rest of mankind from their territories, declared that they detested and

and defied them? The glory of the Lacedæmonians often suffered by this exclusion. The Greek theatre branded them for their inhospitality with the opprobrious epithet, *Dieiro-noxenoi—despisers of strangers*. They were ridiculed by the poets; they were painted in the most shocking colours by the orators; and they were more calmly, though as openly condemned by the philosophers.

The political theory of Plato greatly restrained the admittance of strangers to his republic; but he did not deny them all access to it, whatever Cælius Rhodiginus and Cratius assert to the contrary; for those authors insist, that the substance of the Xenalasia of Lycurgus and of Plato was the same. But we know that Plato thought the Xenalasia of Lycurgus dictated by a harsh and haughty mind. He likewise thought it impracticable and chimerical. He prescribes rules, indeed, by which foreigners were not to be received without much precaution; but he directs, that whenever they might be safely admitted, they should be treated with peculiar humanity and benevolence, as people remote from their friends and relations, and therefore entitled to our most generous attention, whether we consider ourselves as accountable for our conduct to mankind or to the gods. “ Let us always dread (says he, in another passage) the resentment of Jupiter, who presides over hospitality; let us never treat strangers with barbarity: I am not cautioning my republic against eating them, according to the

" the custom of the savages on the banks of
" the Nile; for that act can only be perpe-
" trated by those who are dead to every sense
" of humanity; but I would prevent the
" institution of any capricious and unsocial
" law, by which my citizens might preclude
" their entrance into our commonwealth, or
" treat them with severity." In these latter
words it is evident to whom Plato alludes.

Lacedæmon but ill understood its true interest, by thus separating itself from other nations. 'Tis true, the evils were prevented which it might have experienced by a free intercourse with strangers; but so were the good consequences which might have resulted from their society. That republic feared innovations, if it admitted foreigners; but certainly its policy and manners would have been improved by a considerable change. Many parts of its government wanted reformation. Polycrates perhaps was wrong for censuring its whole constitution; but those speculative writers who have given it unreserved and profuse encomiums, have erred in the other extreme. The laws of Lycurgus must undoubtedly have appeared more excellent in theory than in practice; for they were never adopted by any other politician; and the Lacedæmonians themselves either could not, or would not establish them in the districts they had conquered. Numa's laws were very different from those of Lycurgus, though they were digested by a Spartan: and when Roman deputies, after his time, went to Greece, in quest of the sagest and

and most celebrated laws; they improved their government by examining the Athenian, not the Lacedæmonian policy. Sparta too, might have supplied the defects of her laws by an intercourse with strangers, who would have taught her the sweets of universal society, the value of literature and the sciences; and many other means of promoting the glory and happiness of the state.

Consequences and infringements of the Xenalasia.

We are told by Ælian, that the Spartans, notwithstanding their Xenalasia, were obliged to invite to their republic, physicians, and foreigners of other professions. And we are informed by other writers, that the arrival of strangers, who were privately admitted into Lacedæmon, was of great service to that state. Abaris the Scythian found it very subject to heats and vapours, with which it was incommoded by its vicinity to the Mount Taygetus: but by sacrifices, and other remedies, which were undoubtedly more efficacious, he cleared it of the maladies which had been occasioned by its unwholesome situation. Bacis, the Bœotian, who was famous for many surprising medical operations, cured the Lacedæmonian women of a kind of madness with which they had been seized. Anaximander, a great natural philosopher of Miletus, foretold to the Lacedæmonians an earthquake that was soon to happen at Lacedæmon, and warned them to quit their city. They did so; and retired to

the

the country, with their most valuable effects : i. e. with their arms. The violence of the shock overthrew the top of Mount Taygetus, and the town ; where a few young people, who had remained in a portico, were crushed to death by its ruins. The same Anaximander, according to Diogenes Laertius, or his disciple, Anaximenes of Miletus, according to Pliny the Elder, was the first who made a dial at Lacedæmon. Sparta, in fact, owed all its ingenious works, mechanical or intellectual, to the industry of foreigners : for as its legislator had prohibited his citizens from any application to the elegant as well as to the useful arts, he had, as it were, tied their hands, and prevented them not only from providing for their pleasures, but even for their necessities. Thus, by excluding from them all foreigners, he absurdly excluded all the arts.

He formed a warlike people, a people whose only profession was that of arms. Hence they were necessarily engaged in public affairs, in negotiations, in confederacies, in projects of war, and treaties of peace, which they could not carry on without a communication with strangers. And hence they were obliged, not many years after the death of Lycurgus, to violate their Xenalasia, as they found themselves under a necessity of transacting public affairs with the formalities of other nations. Ambassadors were received at Lacedæmon with as much ease and politeness as at other capitals ; especially after her citizens had violated

lated a most sacred law of nations, by throwing the Persian ambassadors into a well. The Lacedæmonians, after that inhuman deed, were afflicted with many evils, which they imputed to the hand of Heaven, avenging their cruelty. Satisfied of the celestial interposition, they proposed, in one of their great assemblies, to expiate their crime by the voluntary death of a citizen. Sperthies and Bulis, two of the most illustrious Spartans, offered themselves for victims, and set out for Susa, where they were to present themselves to the Persian king. On their way, they were magnificently treated by the Satrapæ. When they had arrived at Susa, Xerxes told them, that if they had violated the right of nations by murdering his ambassadors, he would be far from committing an action like that which had brought infamy upon them; nor would he abolish their guilt, by accepting the atonement which they had offered; and with this answer he dismissed them. Were not the Greeks a modest people, to call the Asiatic monarch a barbarian, who thus avenged himself of their inhumanity? The rigour of the Xenalasia was, however, seldom executed by the Lacedæmonians, against the deputies who were sent to them from neighbouring or remote states: they were, in general, received and treated well. Of this we have so many examples in the history of the Spartan republic, that it would be tedious to cite them.

We have already remarked, that the foreign troops which came to the assistance of Sparta, were always excepted in the prohibition of the Xenalasia. That a warlike state should treat its allies with more respect than its own subjects, is a dictate of common sense, of the simplest policy. Yet Lacedæmon, in her conduct towards her confederates, assumed an air of reserve, of mystery and diffidence, which too much resembled the spirit of the Xenalasia. When her troops, for instance, encamped and marched with their auxiliaries, they would not inform them how many Spartans were in the confederate army. In vain they inquired; in vain they complained that they were kept ignorant of a circumstance in which they were much interested, and which they had a right to know. Their questions and expostulations were received with insolence and contempt, as we may infer from the answers given them by Agesilaus, Ariston, and Agis.

The celebration of their solemnities and feasts on stated days every year, first relaxed the strictness of the Xenalasia. Strangers were admitted into Lacedæmon on these occasions. The manner in which the youth of either sex then appeared in public excited a licentious curiosity. Hence the cynical reflection cited by Athenæus:—“*The manners of Sparta cannot be too highly praised:—she exhibits her young women naked to strangers.*” The city, indeed, was crowded with foreigners when their festivals were celebrated. The

Lacedæmonians, at those times, were so far polite as to seat them in a shade, while they took those places themselves which were offered them by chance. Xenophon bestows great encomiums on Lichas, who distinguished himself by his attention to the strangers who came to Lacedæmon on those public occasions, and by entertaining them with the warmest hospitality. And probably to this concourse of strangers we are to attribute the rise of the feast Copis, which is particularly described by Athenæus. In this feast the strangers and Lacedæmonians ate together, without any distinction.

The Xenalasia was likewise infringed in favour of individuals, and of whole nations, to whom the Lacedæmonians were attached for particular reasons. Arion, a famous musician, was shipwrecked near the coast of Laconia, and got to land on the Cape Tenarus; the Spartans received him with great humanity; and he consecrated in the temple of Apollo, which was situated on the same promontory, a statue of brass, as a monument of his danger and escape. Themistocles, after the battle of Salamis, having neither received from his countrymen the Athenians, nor from the other states of Greece, the honours which he thought he deserved, repaired to Lacedæmon. There they presented him with the olive-crown; they gave him their most magnificent chariot; and when he took his leave of their republic, thirty of their principal citizens escorted him to their frontiers; a respect

and homage which the Lacedæmonians had never before paid to any stranger. Alcibiades, and some others, who were obliged to leave their country for reasons of state, found a hospitable asylum at Lacedæmon. Betwixt that Athenian general and a citizen of Sparta, a very strong friendship was formed; which was afterwards of great advantage to Endeas, the son of the Lacedæmonian.

The Athenian Pericles, and Archidamus king of Sparta, were likewise connected by the ties of hospitality, which were so sacred among the ancients, that when Archidamus laid waste the Athenian territories, he spared the lands of Pericles. Agesilaus, another king of Sparta, between whom and Xenophon there subsisted a warm friendship, repeatedly advised the latter to send his children to Sparta for their education. Whenever the Dorians came to Lacedæmon, distinguished honours were paid them there: they gave them the precedence before their most illustrious citizens; because their ancestors had assisted the Dioscuri in redeeming Helen. When the Phliasians, who were allies of the Spartan republic, and had been equally faithful to its interest in its prosperous and unfortunate times, visited Lacedæmon, among the other honours which were paid them there, they received an ox, as a present of hospitality. Even the Jews had a free communication with the Lacedæmonians; because the two nations boasted their consanguinity, and each of them claimed Abraham for their progenitor. All the fo-

reigners we have now mentioned were kindly received at Lacedæmon.

But many strangers were treated in a very different manner by the Lacedæmonians. Archilochus of Paros was obliged to quit their city almost as soon as he had entered it, for having asserted in one of his poems, that it was better to fly in battle, than to die sword in hand. They likewise expelled Meandrius, the tyrant of Samos, from Sparta; because he had presented vessels of gold and silver to their citizens.—Cephisophon, for having boasted that he had discoursed a whole day on a subject that had been proposed to him; and Mithecus, for his excellence in the art of cookery, which he had ostentatiously displayed at Lacedæmon, to the prejudice of the Spartan temperance and frugality. This vigilant attention to the manners of strangers, this severe suppression of their luxury and licentiousness, did not prevent them from committing extravagancies, even in the midst of Lacedæmon. We may instance the contemptuous frolic of the companions of Clazomenes, who filled with dirt and ordure, the chairs of the Ephori, the sacred seats of justice and equity. Those magistrates did not resent the insult with the indignation it seemed to deserve: they only made a public crier proclaim the following ordinance of laconic brevity and force:—“ Be it known to all, that the Clazomenians shall not be accountable for foolish conduct.”

Particular magistrates were appointed at Lacedæmon, to superintend the conduct of strangers;

strangers; they were chosen by the kings; and had the title of Proxeni, from the nature of their office, which was similar to that of our *Introducers*, *Introducteurs*. The business of the Proxeni was to receive strangers, to provide them with lodgings and other accommodations, to introduce and seat them at public places; and to keep a watchful eye over their conduct, lest it should corrupt, or in any other way injure the republic. The institution of Proxeni was common to the Grecian states, who were continually sending deputies to one another, for the transaction of public affairs: Alcibiades the Athenian, for example, and Polydamus the Theffalian, were Proxeni over the Lacedæmonians, the one in Athens and the other in Theffaly. And by the same policy, the Athenians and Theffalians had their Lacedæmonian Proxeni in the city of Sparta.

Lacedæmon was inaccessible to strangers till after she had conquered Athens. The dissoluteness of manners with which that conquest was attended, relaxed the Xenalasia, as well as her other essential maxims of government. The Spartans then became attached to the conveniences, to the elegancies, and pleasures of life; and to procure them, they were obliged to invite many foreigners to their republic; as they themselves were totally unacquainted with commerce and with the arts. In the decline of the commonwealth, they opened the city of Las to every foreigner, and made it the emporium of maritime com-

merce. The Xenalasia and hospitality were equally forgotten; but their old jealousy of strangers they still retained to a certain degree; they made them purchase their admission to their territories; they were industrious to inconvenience and molest them: in a word, the Lacedæmonians, in their prejudice against foreigners, and in their treatment of them, differed from all other nations, even many ages after the total ruin of their republic.

Some Spartans, however, endowed with more humane and liberal minds than their countrymen, openly disavowed this inhospitable rigour, in spite of their austere and circumscribed education. One of these generous men was Lichas. Timandidas, before he set out on a journey, entrusted his son with all his effects; on his return he found them considerably augmented. He regretted the increase of his possessions; for he feared it had been made at the expence of the gods, of his friends, and of strangers. Agis, king of Sparta, blamed one of his friends who had entertained some strangers, for having treated them only with the coarse bread and black soup, which were the usual food of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached him severely with this inhospitality. The same prince, on a more important occasion, shewed, that he and his countrymen had very different ideas of strangers. An account of that part of his conduct shall conclude this article.

Agis had determined to model the state anew according to its ancient plan, to abolish

debts, and every inequality of fortune, and to re-establish Lycurgus's division of the lands. The Lacedæmonian possessions were more than sufficient to supply the necessities of every individual. He proposed a distribution of the overplus to those strangers whom he should select and incorporate with the nation. Leonidas, the other king, opposed the intended reformation. He had violated the Xeniasia himself by marrying a foreigner; and yet he reproached his colleague with an infringement of that law in an assembly of the people. "Do not you think," said Leonidas to Agis, "that Lycurgus was a sage and equitable legislator?"—"I do," answered Agis.—"But did ever Lycurgus," replied the other, "release debtors from the obligation to pay what they owed; did he ever grant to foreigners the privilege of Spartan citizens; he who thought his Spartans would inevitably be corrupted if they had any intercourse with other nations?"—"We need not wonder," replied Agis, "that Leonidas, who was educated himself among foreigners, and who took a wife from a family of Satrapæ, is unacquainted with the spirit of Lycurgus's laws. I must therefore inform him, that Lycurgus annulled loans and debts, by proscribing gold and silver; and that the foreigners whom he meant to exclude from his republic, were only those whose manners were incompatible with his maxims, and not those against whom it could merely be objected—that they were

" not Lacedæmonians. No," continued he :
 " Lycurgus did not declare war against men,
 " but against principles and manners. All
 " that he feared was, that a communication
 " between foreigners and his citizens would
 " make the latter luxurious, effeminate, and
 " selfish. Were not our greatest honours
 " conferred on Terpander, Thales, and
 " Pherecydes, notwithstanding they were
 " foreigners, because in their poems they
 " celebrated the maxims of Lycurgus?"—

Thus Agis pleaded the cause of strangers. But his endeavours were ineffectual : the lands were not equally divided ; and consequently foreigners were not naturalized at Lacedæmon. He fell a victim to his laudable zeal ; and he was condemned to death by the Ephori, for an attempt which has rendered his memory venerable to posterity.—MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSCRIP. ET BELL. LETT. tom. xii. p. 159. *et seq.*

ARTICLE XVII.

The state of the sciences among the Lacedæmonians.

We shall do a great injustice to the minds of the Lacedæmonians, if we adopt some groundless invectives, and if we imagine that they were enemies to the sciences and fine arts ; and that they alone, in the midst of learned Greece, were sunk in ignorance and barbarism. We will indeed admit, that they were more famous for their valour than their erudition,

and that Sparta, though she was the rival of Athens in many respects, never disputed with her the empire of letters. Yet Lycurgus did not banish learning from Lacedæmon; nor was it ever neglected by the Lacedæmonians. This Mr. de Nauze hath proved, in a treatise he wrote in opposition to a prejudice that reflects dishonour on a nation which was worthy of better fame. I shall here give the reader an extract from that treatise, which as well deserves his attention as the extract which I have already made from another work of the same author.

The Lacedæmonian laws were calculated to form a sage and warlike people, to give the body flexibility and vigour, and to inspire the soul with heroic sentiments. With this view, say the ancient authors, Lycurgus prohibited his citizens from applying their minds to any illiberal art or profession, which he thought would be repugnant to the independence and greatness which he had destined for his commonwealth. Even agriculture, and the other arts necessary to the support of life, found no favour in the code of this legislator; the cultivation of them he assigned to the Helots and other slaves. The citizens were reserved for nobler occupations; and Xenophon undoubtedly applies the following remarks principally to the republic of Sparta.—“ There are states, “ (says that author) I speak particularly of “ those who have distinguished themselves by “ their achievements in war, where the citi-“ zens are not allowed to prosecute any of the

" mechanical arts; a sage and a noble prohibition; for some of those arts are laborious, " and fatigue the body, some enervate it by a " sedentary life; and others dry and wither it " by the continual fire of furnaces. Hence " they must make fatal impressions on the " mind: they depress all vigour and elevation " of thought and sentiment: and they en- " gross all the active hours of a man's life. " They sequester him from the discharge of " civil duties; they incapacitate him from " serving his friends or his country by the " exertion of manly and generous virtues."

Aristotle, in his political books, speaks in the same strain with Xenophon. But Lycurgus could attribute none of these bad effects to the study of the sciences and of polite literature. Without injuring the body, they enrich, adorn, and invigorate the mind; they inspire it with bright and animating truths, and raise it above passion and sensuality. By the conformity which Nature hath established between the mode of thinking and acting, learning greatly contributes to form the liberal man and the good citizen, and fixes the empire of reason in practice as well as in theory; evinces the necessity, and produces the love of moral and civil rectitude; and thus powerfully co-operates with the influence of the laws.

Lycurgus, therefore, could never intend to banish literature and the sciences from his republic, which were so favourable to his plan. On the contrary, they were capital objects

objects of his inquiry while he travelled in quest of that political knowledge, which afterwards assisted him in the composition of his laws. Of this we may be assured from his diligence to collect the works of Homer, and from his careful transcription of them. He greatly admired that ancient bard, say the historians, because in his poems, solid and excellent precepts were enforced by the charms of numbers. And as he gave them so much attention, and was the first who brought them into Greece, we may with certainty infer, that he thought poetry was beneficial to a state. Indeed none of the writers of antiquity who have been most industrious to persuade us that the Lacedæmonians were an ignorant people, and who have given us a most particular account of his expulsion of the mechanical arts from his republic, have even cited a law by which he likewise proscribed the liberal arts and sciences. They have, it is true, asserted, that he banished them, from their own way of reasoning, by which they concluded that literature was inconsistent with some of his institutions: but the arguments by which they have endeavoured to demonstrate that the Spartans were illiterate, may more properly be applied to prove the reverse.

We will allow that the art of war made the greater part of the education of a Lacedæmonian; that every son of Sparta was a soldier by birth and profession. But does it thence follow that the citizens of that republic had no literary taste, and no means of attaining knowledge?

ledge? May we not more reasonably suppose, that as their policy left them much time at their own disposal, they would devote a part of it to the muses? We are told by Thucydides and Xenophon, that neither the boys nor men at Sparta were permitted to be idle for a moment. Yet such was the strain of their laws, that it was impossible for them to have recourse to frivolous amusements, or sensual pleasures. All domestic œconomy, all attention to private affairs, was likewise precluded. In this situation, the Lacedæmonians, who were habituated to close thinking from their infancy, when their bodily exercises were over, undoubtedly cultivated their minds. Literature, science, and sensible conversation were then the only objects left for their amusement or occupation. We must not, therefore, imagine, that the boasted leisure which Lycurgus had allowed his citizens, was wasted on indolence, in a government which exacted from its subjects indefatigable activity and application. That leisure was given to a Lacedæmonian, that he might be exempted from the cares of life, and that he might divide his time betwixt literature and arms.

The law which prohibited retirement, solitude, and a sedentary life, and by which he was consequently forbidden to study in the closet, to grow pale with lucubration, did not, however, deprive him of other means of intellectual improvement. The Academy, the Lycæum, and other Athenian schools, formed many learned and great men, by converse and dispu-

disputation. This was the general mode of ancient education ; and the social intercourse of the Lacedæmonians, who could not lead a recluse life without violating the laws, instead of giving them a superficial and trifling turn of mind, made them proficients in literature and in science. Their legislator, by not suffering his laws to be committed to writing, seems to have preferred philosophical conversation to all other ways of instruction. And his people would naturally adopt his opinion.

The famous law which prohibited all communication between the Spartans and other nations, is alleged as an obstacle to the establishment of the sciences at Lacedæmon. Are we sure that an open commerce with foreigners in that republic would have been very favourable to letters ? They who go from one country to another to collect, or to diffuse the treasures of literature, are always very few in comparison with those who travel from motives of interest. And by the latter sort of travellers, the policy of Lycurgus would soon have been defaced with a selfish spirit, with the cares of commerce, with tumult and dissipation. If they had, in some degree, assisted literature, they would have injured it essentially, by diverting the minds of the Spartans to other objects, and by weakening their love of knowledge ; and thus the sciences would have suffered by the relaxation of the Xenala-fia. From the laws then which are cited to prove the ignorance of the Lacedæmonians,

we

we may more justly infer, that they were a wise and learned people.

If, with the merit of knowledge, they had not its reputation, they were by no means mortified on that account. They gloried in acting right, without valuing the opinion of the world; and wished that whatever was transacted in Lacedæmon, might be unknown to the neighbouring states. They did not deny the ignorance which was generally imputed to them; and when they were once reproached with it by an Athenian;—they replied, —“ You are very right; we are the only “ people of Greece who are not spoiled at “ your school.”—They were pleased to find that their political secrecy was not violated, and that strangers were not acquainted with their real character. Yet the mystery of their conduct was penetrated by Socrates, and Plato, and by some other men of capital genius. I shall here quote Plato’s opinion of the Lacedæmonians, of which he makes Socrates the speaker.

“ The sciences are more ancient and more “ in number, and there are more learned men “ in Crete and Lacedæmon than in any other “ part of Greece. They are indeed so far “ from assuming a reputation for learning, “ that in conversing with them you would “ suppose them illiterate. They as carefully “ conceal from the other Greeks their un- “ equalled proficiency in true and laudable “ knowledge, as they openly assert their su- “ periority in arms: for they fear, that if their
“ learning

“ learning was known, the enlightened world
“ would adopt their method of instruction.
“ By thus waving all literary pretensions, they
“ deceive strangers who are ambitious to imi-
“ tate them; who gall their ears by twisting
“ leatherth thongs around them, wear short
“ cloaths, and strenuously contend for the
“ palm in gymnastic exercises; as if the Spar-
“ tans by these external trifles, and by this
“ bodily discipline, had acquired more renown
“ than any other commonwealth of Greece.
“ Whenever they hold their learned meetings,
“ they are obliged to assemble privately, to
“ avoid the importunity of these imitators of
“ Lacedæmonian manners, whom they dis-
“ like as much as other strangers; for no fo-
“ reigner residing at Lacedæmon is admitted
“ to these assemblies. And neither they nor
“ the Cretans permit their youth to visit other
“ states; lest they should forget the good in-
“ structions which they receive in their own
“ country, and exchange them for corruption
“ of heart and effeminacy of manners. In
“ each of these commonwealths the women
“ as well as the men make a great progress
“ in learning. You will not doubt what I
“ assert, when I likewise assure you, that the
“ Lacedæmonians are regularly and judicious-
“ ly educated in the sciences, and in polite
“ literature; and have such a fund of know-
“ ledge, and language always ready for use,
“ that if you enter into conversation with
“ any of their citizens, suppose him even one
“ of the lowest of the people, his answers,
“ indeed,

" indeed, at first, will be so simple and short,
" that they will have the appearance of rusti-
" city. But as the discourse proceeds; as he
" gains the depth of the subject; his argu-
" ments and expressions will be so vigorous,
" so noble, and withal so accurate and acute,
" that you will be, as it were, transfix'd with
" the shafts of his eloquence; and you will
" seem, in comparison with your antagonist,
" a child and a stammerer. Hence some an-
" cients as well as moderns, have been con-
" vinced, and have acknowledged, that the La-
" cedæmonians are more assiduous to improve
" their minds by the culture of philosophy,
" than to invigorate their bodies by gymnas-
" tic exercises. We must allow that the ta-
" lent of eloquence, with all its vigour and
" graces, was never attained but by complete
" scholars. And philosophers, such as Thales
" of Miletus, Pittacus of Mitylene, Bias of
" Priene, Solon, our Citizen, Cleobulus of
" Lindum, Myso of Chenæ, and Chilo of La-
" cedæmon, the seventh sage, all these great
" men were imitators of the Lacedæmonians;
" they admired their studies, and they were
" educated according to their plan."

So authentic an evidence, that the Lacedæ-
monians were eminent for learning, needs no
comment, nor any farther investigation. Pla-
to, in another of his dialogues, makes Hip-
pias the Sophist, one of his speakers, who
complains that, while he was at Lacedæmon,
the Spartans would not come to hear his lec-
tures; he describes them as a most ignorant
and

and barbarous people, and says they did not understand the simplest arithmetic. The most disadvantageous inference we can draw from this, with regard to the Lacedæmonians, is, that in the time of Socrates, two very different opinions concerning them were entertained ; —the most accomplished philosophers asserted, that they were a wise and learned people ; the superficial sophists accused them of the grossest ignorance. Yet, would one believe it ?—The opinion of the latter class, of such men as Hippias, has been adopted by posterity ; nay it has been often cited as the opinion of Plato himself ; though that author only mentions it to ridicule and confute it. Isocrates is yet more severe on the Lacedæmonians than Hippias, in a treatise which he wrote solely with a view to exalt Athens, and to humble Sparta. And how could he consistently with himself, grant them any knowledge of literature and the sciences ;—he even refuses them every principle of humanity. Yet, by mentioning their high reputation, he informs us, that they were not thought so contemptible a people by the world as he describes them. From him we learn, that they were revered as demigods by certain nations ; and (which corroborates what we are endeavouring to prove) as inventors of the most excellent branches of learning.

They were at least undoubtedly the authors of the Laconian style, of that precision, of that clear and energetic brevity, which compressed and gave force to their eloquence, to their poetry,

poetry, to their philosophy, and, in short, to all the learning which they cultivated. : And hence the language and form of their knowledge was altogether peculiar to themselves. Literature, with them, was not debased to a profession. They did not apply themselves to it from the sordid views of interest. They did not adorn the mind to the prejudice of manners. Men of letters made no distinct class in their republic: they were not ambitious of composing books, nor of a literary correspondence with foreigners, nor of any of those pompous externals with which the profession of the sciences was decorated in other countries. In consequence of this noble simplicity, and independence of manners, they who were little acquainted with the Lacedæmonians, might be easily persuaded, and they who were jealous of their glory might plausibly assert, that they were a savage people, and ignorant of the arts and sciences of Greece—a proposition which is true and false in two different acceptations. Plutarch and Ælian took it in the unjust meaning in which it was communicated to them: they fully believed that the old Lacedæmonians were a rude and illiterate people; and they have inculcated their belief to posterity. The authorities of these two respectable writers have been the sources of almost universal error. We may however, redeem this part of the Lacedæmonian character, by a circumstantial detail of the different kinds of erudition which were cultivated in Sparta.

I shall

I shall begin with grammar, of which Isocrates is the only writer, who hath asserted, that they had no idea. They are totally unacquainted, says he, with the common principles, with the elements of literature. His authority, I should suppose, will not be preferred to that of Xenophon, who sent his children to Sparta for their education, and who informs us in the plainest terms, that literature, music, and the gymnastic exercises were taught there, without mentioning the studies of maturer years. We are likewise told by Plutarch, that they had as much knowledge of letters as was necessary for their private and public transactions; and the fact is evinced by the series of ancient history, which represents them as a people who daily applied themselves to reading and writing, like the other polished nations;—by a great number of letters which they received and sent, the purport, nay, even the tenour and words of many of which have been transmitted to us by ancient authors, —by the peculiarities which Meursius hath collected with regard to the style, the manner of closing and sealing those letters;—by Lacedæmonian inscriptions; the scarcity of which Dodwell regretted in the beginning of this century, and many of which Mr. l'Abbé Fourmont hath since brought us from the country of the ancient Spartans;—and by many other monuments, which we need not vouch here. Indeed, it would be injurious to the glorious memory of that republic, to prove by minute and elaborate demonstration, that she was con-

versant with the elements of Grecian literature. What regard then are we to pay to the reproach with which they were branded by Isocrates?—He knew, and he owned, that the Lacedæmonians cared as little for his invectives as for what was said beyond the pillars of Hercules. But perhaps he insisted that their contempt of his works, which they not only refused to answer, but to examine, was an incontrovertible argument that they could neither read nor write.

Let me add, that they were excellent speakers. The reader has already seen, that Socrates gives the highest encomiums to their management of language, and that great orator as well as philosopher, will not allow that the art of speaking and writing well is soon attained, even by a good understanding. He attributes it to found talents, cultivated by long and laborious habit. Their masterly eloquence was then a proof of their literary application and success;—that irresistible and astonishing force of expression, which made even an Athenian, when he conversed with them, seem as poor in language as a child. Their clear, accurate, poignant, and noble mode of composition, which is, to this day, termed the Laconic style, has always been admired by polished nations. Plutarch, throughout his works, has collected many of their nervous answers and apophthegms; and it is surprising that so candid and sensible an author, who gives us various specimens of their vigorous thought and expression, should suppose

pose that their knowledge was confined to the elements of learning. He himself acknowledges, in more than one passage, that from their childhood they carefully studied purity and elegance of discourse; that they endeavoured to acquire, even in common conversation, all the graces of language; that a variety of questions were put to their young men, on purpose to try their readiness and acuteness; and that a nervous, elegant, and sententious answer was always expected from them. Shall we then precipitately accuse this people of dulness and barbarism? or shall we not with justice conclude, that Lacedæmon was the seat of a most excellent literary education; and that her citizens were the greatest, and what adds to their true glory, the least ostentatious adepts, in useful, manly, and noble science, of any people in the ancient world?

Many were the opportunities they had of improving in eloquence. Historians inform us, that they were not permitted to speak in public till they were thirty years of age; that they every year pronounced orations at the tombs of some of their illustrious men; and they show, by innumerable examples, that the Spartans were habituated to make studied speeches. Æschines, for instance, relates, that after the harangue of a Lacedæmonian, who was very eloquent, but a bad man, before sentence was pronounced, agreeably to his induction and enforcement of facts, an aged person arose, and prevailed with the assembly

to chuse another citizen, who should résume the cause, and urge the arguments of the former with his best abilities—that a person of a reprobate character, said the old man, may not have the honour to gain the suffrages of the people. Hence it appears, that it was not difficult to find a good orator at Lacedæmon; but that a bad citizen was a phænomenon in that republic.

We may likewise refer the reader to many orations in Thucydides, as proofs of the Lacedæmonian eloquence. We may reasonably attribute the substance of the speeches to those whose thoughts the historian hath perhaps expressed in his own language: and we may as reasonably suppose, that their style was as nervous, and as elegant as that of Thucydides; who was too great a lover of truth, too attentive to the rules of probability, to compose masterly orations for a people who were notoriously ignorant and illiterate. We are assured by the Spartans themselves, in one of their harangues transmitted to us by that author, that they sometimes exchanged the laconic brevity, for a copious and magnificent diction. Whether they asserted this themselves, or it was made for them by Thucydides, it shews that the ancients thought they were capable of diversifying their eloquence, and consequently that they well understood the principles of the art. The same writer introduces a very fine oration of Brasidas, by observing that of the talent of speaking he was a complete Lacedæmonian, *i. e.* that he possessed,

fessed, and was indefatigable in supporting the character of a natural, simple, concise, manly, and energetic orator.

The rhetoricians and declaimers of Greece were far from attaining this honourable reputation: therefore they were, with ignominy, expelled from Sparta. Of this we have many examples in history, some of which are cited by Sextus Empiricus.

Yet though the Lacedæmonians refused their protection to rhetorical pedants, we should do them great injustice if we thence inferred, that they were insensible to the merit of unaffected and vigorous orators. All that we can conclude from their contempt of the former, is, that they were not dazzled with the meretricious charms of rhetoric; that they thought a multiplicity of figures and common places, rather weakened and deformed, than strengthened and adorned eloquence; that the fallies of imagination, the points and antithesis of a brilliant orator, seduce reason; that a profusion of words argues a sterility of genius, and even a deficiency of common sense; that the excellence of an art, whose office it is faithfully to convey ideas and sentiments, consists in a just representation of nature, and not in loading her with borrowed and tawdry colours;—and that true eloquence leads men to the knowledge of truth, and inspires them with the love of virtue; two objects which engaged the earnest attention and the ardent pursuit of the Lacedæmonians.

On the same plan, and with the same noble views they studied music and poetry, two arts which were united by the ancients, and which we therefore must not separate here. At Lacedæmon, the national as well as foreign poets, were musicians as well as bards, and were as much honoured in that commonwealth as in the other parts of Greece. The Lacedæmonians were taught to admire and patronise poets, by the example of Lycurgus; for he invited Terpander of Lesbos to Lacedæmon, who, by the power of his art, calmed a sedition in that commonwealth; and who embellished the laws of its new government with the charms of numbers and music. The Lacedæmonians revered him, says Heraclides of Pontus, as a sacred instructor, to whose voice Heaven had commanded them to attend: and when Plutarch says that Terpander was fined by the Ephori for having added one string to the lyre, he forgets that he added not one but three strings to that instrument; and he likewise forgets what he himself tells us in another place, from the authority of ancient writers, *viz.* that the Lacedæmonians had always a great veneration for that inventor, or restorer of their music.

They were likewise greatly obliged to other poets: to Thaletas of Crete, to Bacis of Arcadia, and to Tyrteus of Athens; who, by order of the oracle, came to the relief of Lacedæmon at different times, and delivered her from severe calamities. More agreeable motives, I mean the charms of poetry and music, drew other

other bards to that republic.—Archilochus of Paros, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocrites the Locrian, Polymnestor of Colophon, Sacadas of Argi, Periclytes of Lesbi, Phrynis of Mitylene, Timotheus of Miletus, and undoubtedly many other votaries of Apollo. Plutarch, in his treatise on music, gives a particular account of the great proficiency of some bards in the two sister arts; and he says, they owed it to their residence among the Spartans; who seemed to have forgotten, in *their* favour, the rigour of the Xenalasia. It is probable, indeed, that they were so captivated with harmony, that they protected and encouraged poets of every country without distinction. Ælian either did not chuse to inform us of the great concourse of strangers at Sparta, who went thither to cultivate the arts of poetry and music, or he was not informed of it himself. For he mentions only three or four who were requested to visit that republic in calamitous times; and then, he says, the Lacedæmonians, as they were not worshippers of the muses themselves, and yet stood in need of their influence to cure epidemical disorders, or lunacy, or to remove other evils, were obliged to implore the aid of foreign poets. That we may still take it for granted, that none of their countrymen were poets, he makes Alcman one of the three or four foreigners who applied the powerful anodyne of harmony to the afflictions of Lacedæmon.

But Alcman was educated and formed in the bosom of his country. He was the slave

of Agesides; he obtained his liberty as a reward of his genius, which likewise procured him the fame of a great poet. In what place he was born, is therefore not material: for he was educated among the Lacedæmonians; with them he lived; in their country he died; and it was their love of poetry which raised him from a servile to a free condition; a great honour in their commonwealth; as they were enjoined by their laws to grant the privileges of a Spartan citizen with great reserve, and only to persons of the most illustrious merit. Pausanias, where he speaks of that poet's tomb, which was in Laconia, observes, that the Lacedæmonian dialect, though not very favourable to harmony, is not at all disagreeable in the verses of Alcman. Some of his poems are on amorous subjects; and as they gave no offence to the austerity of Lacedæmon, we may conclude that their author, in composing them, indulged no licentiousness of fancy. Spendon, a cotemporary poet and musician, modelled his genius by Alcman and Terpander, and his works, like theirs, were admired by his countrymen. The Lacedæmonians venerated the productions of these three great men, as sacred and divine; and were so jealous of the honour which they thought they deserved, that they would not suffer the vulgar to sing them. When the Helots, who had been made prisoners during the wars of Epaminondas, were ordered by their conquerors to sing some verses of Terpander, of Alcman, or of Spendon, they desired to be excused;

excused ; “ for they were forbidden by their “ masters to sing the verses of those bards.” It is well known that Cynethon, Dionysodotes, and Arèus were Lacedæmonian poets, whom the ancients have mentioned in terms of the highest praise. Chilo of Lacedæmon, one of the seven sages, likewise distinguished himself by his poetical talents.

At the Carnian games which were celebrated at Sparta, the prize of poetry and music was disputed. It is very probable that foreigners were well received during the celebration of those games, which prove that the two arts flourished in that republic. The other games of the Lacedæmonians, their dances and feasts, their political and religious assemblies, were, as Meursius remarks, always animated with music and song. In a word, says Lucian, the Lacedæmonians do nothing without the aid of the muses.

Before a battle they sacrificed to those goddesses : they then marched towards the enemy, singing their warlike poetry ; their song was accompanied with flutes ; and their musicians were stationed in the ranks of their soldiers. Many of the Greek and Latin authors have admired their manner of thus advancing to battle in musical time. Thucydides informs us, that the Lacedæmonians did not observe this custom from any religious motive, but to prevent that confusion to which great armies are subject. Polybius likewise observes, that for good reasons they marched in order of battle rather to the sound of

of the flute than of the trumpet : the instruments commonly used in armies, were more noisy than musical ; and therefore they would not have suited their calm and determined valour so well as the temperate melody of the flute, to which they were accustomed from their infancy ; another argument why they should prefer its harmony to that of any other instrument. All the Spartans learned to play on the flute ; as we are told by Chameleon of Heraclea, who is quoted by Athenæus ; and their musical education was of that use to them in war which we have just related : but though in their youth they were instructed in the principles of music, they did not practise it in their maturer years ; yet they retained musical sentiment and taste as long as they lived.

They were as attentive, says Plutarch, to the beauties of poetry and music, as to the purity and elegance of prose. Their poetry was simple, yet masculine and vigorous ; it inflamed the nobler passions, and particularly inspired an ardour for military glory. It seldom treated other subjects than those which formed the heart to virtue and patriotism. It sung the honour and the happiness of those who died in battle ; the infamy and the misery of those who survived military disgrace ; in short, it recommended and adorned those principles, that disinterested and noble conduct, which were as common at Sparta as luxury and effeminacy were among the Sybarites.

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The author of such poetry or music as tended to corrupt the manners, was severely punished at Lacedæmon. The poet Archilochus was banished from that republic, because he had asserted in verse, that it was better to fly than to fall in battle; and because his muse was immodest and licentious. The Spartans tolerated neither tragedy nor comedy; lest, says Plutarch, the authority of their government should have been weakened, either by serious attacks, or by more dangerous ridicule. They proscribed, with yet more justice, Dithyrambic poems—because their immoral and loose subjects, their irregular and bold versification, and their glowing images and expressions, strongly inspired the frantic genius of the god to whom they were dedicated. They would not suffer any essential innovations either in their instruments or in their melody, but scrupulously preserved the style of the ancient Greek music. They were naturally fond of the Dorian mode; as its solemn and noble intonation was peculiarly adapted to the gravity of their disposition and manners. Plato likewise thought it preferable to all other modes; and the only one that was suited to a brave and temperate people. It was equally fit for martial airs, and improper for soft and amorous poetry. Philoxenes attempted in vain to unite it to his Dithyrambic numbers; its natural and sober graces rejected a strained and bombastic poetry: his project miscarried; and he was obliged again to have recourse to the Phrygian mode.

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The Lacedæmonians loved the Dorian harmony for its simplicity; though on account of that property it was despised by others. And from their dislike of all superfluous variety, they would never suffer more than seven strings to be put to the lyre. Phrynis for adding two, and Timotheus four, were severely censured by the tribunal of the Ephori. As the judgment pronounced against Timotheus is one of the most curious monuments of antiquity, and proves the strong attachment of the Lacedæmonians to their poetry and music, I shall transcribe it here.—“ Whereas Timotheus of Miletus, who resides in our city, hath violated our ancient music; hath added four to the seven strings of the lyre, and by absurdly multiplying the sounds of that instrument, hath corrupted the musical taste of our youth; and by making licentious innovations in our airs, hath rejected chaste harmony for light and abrupt transitions, which he thinks the beauty of modulation; and thus instead of a grave and majestic, hath given us an effeminate and flighty music:—and whereas, when he was invited to the games of Eleusinian Ceres, he disgraced his poetry with meretricious ornaments, and sung the birth of Bacchus in strains offensive to modesty, and dangerous to young minds:—for these reasons it hath seemed good to the commonwealth, that the kings should bring the conduct of Timotheus to judicial cognizance, that he should be censured by the Ephori,

" Ephori, and obliged to take from his lyre
" the four additional and superfluous strings;
" nor ever presume to put to it more than
" seven, our established number; that every
" one, knowing the severe policy of our com-
" monwealth, may be deterred from intro-
" ducing any innovation detrimental to vir-
" tuous manners; and that the celebration of
" our games may not be interrupted by any
" confusion or irregularity."

We see by this extract, that the noble simplicity which we have attributed to the orators of Lacedæmon, likewise characterized her poets and musicians. Though eloquence, poetry, and music are distinct, they are kindred arts, and there is a certain congeniality of powers and taste in those by whom they are cultivated. The country which in one of these arts admires natural and easy beauties, will admire such beauties in them all; and they who are fond of the affected and the brilliant in one of them, will show the same false taste for extravagant embellishment in the other two. The Lacedæmonians loved nature; not that they disliked the chaste improvements and ornaments of art; but they avoided, as they despised, all its profuse and glaring decorations. They thought that they who cultivate the arts should study a happy medium, which is equally difficult and beautiful; that perfection consisted in attaining this medium; and that it was equally remote from a rustic negligence and from extreme refinement. For instance, they were the avowed admirers,

admirers of a simple and uniform, of a natural and noble, of a firm and flowing music; in which the sounds, without a flat sameness, were connected and correspondent; the harmony was unaffected and agreeable; the expression, without violence, strong, and moving. To this kind of music, as to the most perfect, they aspired; what was the success of their musical studies we know not; it was only my business to shew the species of harmony which they loved; and that they disliked and discouraged a broken and volatile music. This, they thought, struck the ear and the fancy, but went not to the heart; they despised its superficial and vicious expression; its puerile sallies and quaint turns, destitute of strength and a noble gravity; its abrupt and whimsical transitions; its irregularity and extravagance, which to avoid monotony, insult nature, and violate the judicious boundaries of the art. They applied the rules by which they modelled their music, to their poetry, their eloquence, and to all their other studies. And that application they might easily make; for all the fine arts are susceptible of a common analogy; as they should all be imitations of nature.

Need we ask, whether a people, who founded the arts and sciences on the great principles of reason and virtue, cultivated philosophy?—That the fact is not doubtful, is the glory of the Lacedæmonians. Socrates, in his evidence, which we have cited above, acknowledges, without hesitation, that philosophy was

was more thoroughly and extensively known, and that there was a greater number of true philosophers in Laconia, than in any other part of Greece. In the master-science of philosophy he makes the Lacedæmonians as superior to the other Greeks, as they were in the art of war. From him we learn, that they treated philosophical subjects in their public and private meetings ; that they were industrious to make them familiar to their youth and their women. He repeatedly asserts, (and the assertion is worthy of *our* repetition) that they were commonly trained to the study of philosophy ; to which they applied themselves yet more assiduously than to their gymnastic exercises ; and that their knowledge was that of Thales and the other sages of Greece ; with this difference ;—that the Lacedæmonians had been the masters, and those seven sages their disciples. If it is possible to give them more praise than is conveyed in all these encomiums, it is given by Plutarch; who observes, that Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and all the other writers who endeavoured to form a perfect republic, left their political constitution only in words : but that Lycurgus realized his theory, and showed the astonished world a commonwealth, in which every citizen was a true philosopher. The same author, in another place, insists on the truth of the following proverb :—“ To act like a Lacedæmonian, is “ to act like a philosopher.”

Thus at Lacedæmon that class of men was unknown, which in other states was termed
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the vulgar; an appellation of contempt, used by the ancients as it is by the moderns, to denominate the lower orders of society, who are in general the dupes of ignorance and of passion; equally strangers to reason and philosophy, in theory and in life. Such was the character of the Helots and the other slaves who were employed by the Lacedæmonians in menial and ignoble labour, and were not admitted to the rank of citizens. They were suffered to learn nothing but manual arts; all instruction was carefully withheld from them, which communicated liberal knowledge, and inspired noble sentiments. As to those who in ancient governments were styled citizens, as they were *all* at Sparta, what a few of them were at Athens, at Rome, and in other communities, the term, multitude, was a title of honour to the Lacedæmonians; for he who was not a philosopher in their republic, was singular and infamous. This glorious characteristic Socrates and Plutarch ascribe to the Lacedæmonians; and by it we are to distinguish them from all the other enlightened and celebrated states of antiquity.

But hitherto we have only cited indefinite testimonies and general assertions in favour of the Lacedæmonian philosophy. Let us now proceed to a circumstantial account of its origin and its progress; which are sufficiently traced by ancient authors to make it the admiration of modern times.

The art of reasoning, the science of manners, and the works of Nature, or in other words,

words, logic, morals, and physic, were the object of ancient as they are of modern philosophy. Aristotle, and some other great philosophers who lived in his time, tried the strength of their superior genius on these three important sciences. But as the limited powers of the human mind, and the shortness of life rendered a masterly proficiency in this collective and comprehensive knowledge impracticable; Socrates, and with him most of the ancient sages, omitted that part which they thought least useful to man, least conducive to his happiness; I mean physics. Yet all that they have advanced on the inutility of this study, and on the inconveniences which attend the prosecution of it, is confuted by its great success in modern times. We have acquired a taste for experiments in natural philosophy; and to say they are extremely entertaining is their least praise. By them we annually make discoveries which are of great use to mankind; and which promise yet more beneficial improvements in future ages. We must however own, that the art which teaches us to think justly, and to live well, deserves a preference to natural knowledge; because it more easily and directly leads us to happiness; the ultimate aim of all philosophy: this position we cannot dispute with Socrates; and it is evident from his encomiums on the philosophy of the Lacedæmonians, that they chiefly applied themselves to the art of reasoning, and to morality.

Nothing more strongly proves, that they were excellent logicians than another observation of that sage Athenian, who informs us, that a Spartan of the meanest talents soon confuted a stranger in disputation; and that the Lacedæmonian philosophers generally communicated the fruits of their studies by arguing and discoursing. The title of demigods which was given them, and which we have already mentioned, undoubtedly took its rise from that superiority of intellectual acquirements which distinguished them from other nations. But we are not to infer from their unrivalled progress in useful and noble science, that they were of a nature different from the rest of mankind. Our rational capacities are in general equally distributed throughout the world; and the nation which is conspicuous above its neighbours for acuteness and knowledge, owes its eminence to its diligent cultivation of the faculties of the mind.

The Lacedæmonians excelled in the improvement of the understanding; they did not think that infancy was incapable of instruction; from the cradle they formed the minds of their children. They taught them the elements of logic in their tender years; and this early education was planned by their own wisdom, nor was it adopted by any other nation. For it is universally and weakly supposed, that reason and infancy are incompatible. The author of the *Recherche de la Vérité*, [Inquiry into Truth] laments this unfortunate

tunate prejudice, and deems it a great obstacle to the progress of philosophy. He proves, by incontrovertible arguments, that the first impressions which the mind receives, lasts for life; that the solid and useful information which we might derive in our infancy from the objects around us, is precluded by the improper manner in which we are then treated; that mothers and nurses ruin their children, by keeping their minds agitated with desires; by alarming them with unnecessary and absurd fears; and by presenting to them only trivial and mean ideas. In short, that children are susceptible of salutary, of sublime truths; for they are not destitute of reason, but debarred from experience.

Of all these facts Lacedæmon was convinced. Even the nurses of that republic were famous over all Greece: so admirable was their management of children: for under *their* care they neither grew delicate nor whimsical; neither afraid of solitude nor of darkness; not petulant, whining, and obstreporous. On the contrary, they were always so calm and cheerful, and showed such uncommon understanding, that they seemed prodigies of human nature.

Their common and public education at length commenced, which completely formed their minds, by a method equally simple and sure. It consisted, says Plutarch, in putting questions to the young Lacedæmonians, and in requiring from them argumentative and decisive answers. How despicable are all the

subtle and abstracted systems of logic, in comparison with this Lacedæmonian method, which united precept and example, theory and practice, the operation itself with the instruction how to operate? No subtleties were here played off on the nature of ideas; their various properties were not analysed; here the different forms of propositions, the conclusive and the false modes of reasoning were not discussed; the young Spartan was not puzzled with unmeaning terms, instead of being convinced by solid arguments: a real subject, solid matter was proposed to him, on which he was immediately obliged to think and reason justly; and by being habituated to this exercise from his infancy, he acquired a masterly strength and acuteness of intellect. This was the true *dialectic* method, according to the etymology of the word; the *dialecticians* were so called, says Laertius, because they taught their disciples by questions and answers. A more elaborate and profound logic degenerates into scholastic and vain refinements; simple nature and the chaste Lacedæmonian improvements will always be sufficient helps to make us reason well. Some Grecian philosophers carried this art too far, the strength and beauty of which, as it is with all the other arts, consist in a just medium. They formed it into a kind of winding labyrinth, in which they pretended to guard truth from error and sophistry. But in this maze they soon lost her; and substituted in her place, that is, in the place of sound philosophy, an unintelligible jargon,

jargon, fraught with puerilities, quirks, and disingenuity. Our schools, to this day, but too much abound with this factitious logic. No-where do we find less of true philosophy, less of simple and nervous logic than in those places, though they are consecrated to the exertion of reason. The example of the old Lacedæmonians in the improvement and use of reason, should mortify those modern nations which boast a superiority to all other countries in talents and learning.

Plutarch adds, that if a youth who was thus instructed by questions, answered precipitately and improperly, or answered not at all, through negligence or want of comprehension, he was immediately punished for the fault. Therefore as defective reasoning was punished at Sparta like defective morals, the young men of that commonwealth must always have been on their guard against indolence and an unthinking vivacity, against weak suspence and a dogmatical spirit, against inaction, against a lethargy of mind, and the extravagant fallies of a wild imagination. By these means they were habituated, in early life, to a philosophical turn of mind; to doubt, to examine, to form, combine, and arrange in a perspicuous and beautiful order, their ideas and their thoughts; to avoid imposition from appearances; and all credulity;—to distinguish truth from falsehood, and certainty from probability;—not to take words for arguments, nor to oppose an antagonist with such emp y sounds;—not to pronounce on a subject til

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They had perfectly comprehended it;—to establish principles, and to deduce consequences.—In short, always to be guided by the pure light of reason, as far as it was attainable by humanity.

Yet this mode of instruction, which was so well calculated to form the mind, did not directly treat on the quality of perceptions, nor on the nature of syllogisms. In what then was it conversant? What subjects were unfolded by this plan of education, which was at once familiar and sublime? Morality, and morality exemplified in the sayings and actions of men; in their good and bad conduct. To these topics Plutarch restrains the questions which were proposed to the young men, who were obliged to strengthen and confirm their answers by ascending to principles. These were their constant topics of conversation. For every hour of the day was in some manner devoted to instruction; every spot in Lacedæmon was a public school; all her citizens were masters and disciples.

Thus the ideas of good and evil, of truth and falsehood, of equity and injustice, of regularity and disorder, of virtue and vice, were continually impressed on the tender and susceptible mind. Whatever is the origin of these ideas; whether they are immediately given us by the Author of Nature and make a part of our first formation; or whether the mind afterwards acquires them by intellectual culture, by the exertion of reason, and by analysis drawn from sensible objects; however

ever they originate, they were daily cherished and strengthened in the mind of a young Lacedæmonian. Every thing around him familiarized them to his imagination and his judgement; for he was accustomed, from his infancy, to view all objects through a moral medium. And as the sentiments of the heart naturally correspond with the habits of the mind, he easily acquired the love and the practice of virtue; especially as they were assiduously taught him before the passions grow violent and untractable; and in a country where vice was severely discountenanced by the invariable strictness of virtuous example. Even in his puerile years he had armed himself with the panoply of philosophy; he was inflexible to the solicitations of pleasure and of pain; he neither deemed the former a good, nor the latter an evil: he suffered his blood to stream on the altar of Diana, with firmness, nay even with triumph. As the youth of Lacedæmon advanced in age, the science of morals was deeply rooted in their souls: it formed sage and intrepid patriots; it formed virtuous and determined philosophers, whose ideas and sentiments were infinitely superior to those of the vulgar of mankind. MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSC. ET BELL. LETT. tom. xix. p. 166. *et seq.*

THE LEMOVES.

The Lemoves were a part of the old Germans. They inhabited the coasts of the ocean. Of this nation little has been communicated to posterity. We only know that they were remarkable for their short swords, for their large round shields, and for their veneration of kings. *TACIT, DE MCRIB. GERM,* c. 43.

THE LIBYAN NOMADES.

The Libyan Nomades, whose country extended from Egypt to the Palus Tritonis, ate flesh, and drank milk. Yet in imitation of the Egyptians, they ate not the flesh of cows, nor fed swine. The women of Cyrene thought it a crime even to strike one of those animals. They performed a singular operation on their children, when they were four years old, with a view to their health. With lighted locks of wool, impregnated with their natural oil, they burned the veins on the crown of their head, and sometimes those of their temples. They said it was owing to this precaution that they were not subject to rheums, nor, indeed, to any disorders. If a child fainted while they were thus burning him, they threw on him the urine of a he-goat, which brought him again to his senses.

The Libyan Nomades began their sacrifices by cutting off the ear of the victim, and throwing it over the house. When they had performed

formed this ceremony, they wrung its neck. The Libyan Nomades in general, and most of the Libyans offered sacrifices only to the sun and moon.—Those who lived near the Palus Tritonis, sacrificed likewise to Neptune, to Triton, and to Minerva; but chiefly to Minerva.

From these Libyans the Greeks took the dress and the bucklers with figures of Minerva; except that among the Libyans the dress was made of leather; and what depended from their bucklers did not represent serpents, but was made of leather like the dress. In other respects, the Grecian habits and shields exactly resembled those of the Libyans, and the Greek term for the shield proves that the dress with figures of Minerva was taken from the Libyans. For the Libyan women, over their other clothes, wore dressed goat-skins, which were dyed red, and had fringed borders;—whence the Greeks called their bucklers, with the above mentioned figures, *Ægides*; and the word *ægis* signifies the skin of a goat. Herodotus thinks that the Libyans were likewise imitated in the lamentations which were made in the temples. For such was the custom of the Libyan women; and their lamentations, it is said, were harmonious and affecting. The Greeks had also learned from the Libyans to put four horses to a car.—The Libyan Nomades buried their dead like the other Greeks; except the Nosomenes who interred them seated, and carefully placed their expiring friends in a sitting posture, that they

they might die in that position, and not lying, as was usual in other countries.

Their houses were made of hurdles, and suspended to the lentisk-tree, round which they turned as on an axis. HEROD. lib. iv. c. 186. *et seq.*

THE LIGURIANS.

The Ligurians inhabited a part of Italy near the Alps. They led a wretched life; their destiny condemned them to hard and exhausting labour. As their country was overgrown with trees, they were employed all day in pulling them. In this labour they used very strong and heavy axes. A great part of the time of those who cultivated the ground, was taken up in removing stones, with which almost every spot of their ungrateful soil was encumbered. Yet painful as their labours were, long habit had rendered them supportable. A poor crop repaid their toils and dangers. By continual labour, and scanty food, they were very meagre, yet muscular and strong. Their wives assisted them in procuring the necessities of life, and were as industrious, as laborious as their husbands.

The Ligurians went often to the chace; and the many animals which they killed in the field made amends for the sterility of their soil. As they were often obliged in hunting to pass over mountains covered with snow, and other places difficult of access, their bodies acquired strength and agility by that exercise. As Liguria

guria was a country on which Ceres and Bacchus vouchsafed not to smile, the drink of most of its inhabitants was water; and their food was the flesh of wild and tame animals, and some herbs which grew in their fields. They frequently slept on the bare ground, seldom in huts; but most commonly in clefts of rocks, or in natural caverns, which defended them from the inclemencies of the weather. In those, as indeed in all their other customs, they adhered to their original manner of living.

We may assert, in general, that the Ligurian women were as strong as the men, and that the men had the strength of wild beasts. Hence we are informed, that the weakest Ligurian often challenged the most robust and strongest Gaul to single combat, and that the Gaul was commonly vanquished and slain. The Ligurians were more lightly armed than the Romans. Their buckler was the same with that of the Gauls; and their sword was of a moderate size. Their tunick was fastened with a belt; their clothes were made of the skins of deer. Some of them who served under the Romans, changed their ancient arms for those of their commanders. They showed intrepid courage, not only in war, but in every dangerous department of life. They ran great hazards in the Sardinian and African seas in their trading vessels, which were extremely defective in construction and equipment. DIOD. SICUL. p. 218.

THE LOCRIANS.

The Locrians had a famous law-giver named Zaleucus, a disciple of Pythagoras. Of his code nothing remains but its introduction, which gives us a high idea of what is lost. Above all things he intreats his fellow-citizens to fix in their minds a belief of the existence and providence of the gods. He bids them only contemplate the universe; for its astonishing order and beauty must convince them, that it was not the effect of blind chance, but the work of omnipotent wisdom. In consequence of this persuasion, he exhorts them to respect and venerate the gods, as the authors of all that is just, good, and honourable among men.—And to worship them, not merely with sacrifices and magnificent presents, but with purity of manners, with a sage and virtuous conduct, which will be infinitely more acceptable to heaven than the most costly hecatombs.

After this sensible and religious exordium, in which he makes the Supreme Being the source of laws, the first and great object of our reverence and obedience, the most powerful encourager to virtue, and the perfect model for our moral imitation;—he proceeds to describe and inculcate to his citizens their civil and social duties; and he gives them a precept admirably calculated to preserve peace and union; by directing them to cultivate a peaceable and humane temper; not to indulge a gloomy

a gloomy and durable resentment, which indicates a selfish and barbarous disposition; but always to act towards their enemies, on a supposition that they would soon become their friends. A more exalted strain of equity and benevolence than this, it would be unreasonable to expect from paganism.

With regard to judges and magistrates, after having warned them not to suffer themselves to be prejudiced by friendship or hatred, or any other passion, he bids them avoid all haughtiness, and unnecessary rigour towards those whose dispute or whose fate is to be determined by their sentence; as they will find a legal process of itself sufficiently painful and mortifying. However laborious the office of a judge may be, it gives him no right to betray impatience in its execution. As a judge, he owes to his country the calm distribution of justice; therefore, when he treats those who are brought to his tribunal, with mildness and humanity, however perplexing or shocking the cause may be, he confers not a favour, he discharges a debt.

To banish luxury from his republic, which he thought infallibly ruinous to a state, he did not imitate the policy of some countries, where the infringement of laws enacted against it is only punished with fines. He checked its progress by a more sensible and effectual method. He prohibited the women from wearing rich and expensive apparel, embroidery, jewels, pendants, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and other ornaments; and he excepted prostitutes from
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the prohibition. He laid a similar restriction on the men, excepting those who would chuse to be deemed debauched and infamous. By this provision, in which there was nothing harsh and violent, he easily prevented his citizens from growing luxurious and effeminate. For who can withstand the force of virtuous example, when it is exhibited in the great majority of a commonwealth? who can bear, in such a commonwealth, to contract infamy, to be ridiculed and despised?—None but a very few wretches, of a most sordid and base constitution, who are dead to all sense of honour and of shame. DIOD. SICUL. p. 299.

THE LOMBARDS.

The Lombards were a people of Germany. They derived glory from their apparent weakness. Though their number was small; though they were surrounded with formidable neighbours, they maintained an erect and independent spirit; their preference of liberty to life rendered them always intrepid, often victorious. TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. c. 40.

THE LUSITANIANS.

The Lusitanians inhabited the country which is now called Portugal. Their shields were made with thongs of guts, so closely and strongly interwoven, that they were a sufficient defence for the body. They were very dexterous in the use of these shields, with which they warded off the arrows and other weapons

weapons of the enemy on every side. Their sabres were all of iron, and made in the form of a hook; but their helmets and their swords were like those of the Celtiberians. They threw their darts with such dexterity that they generally hit their aim, and killed, or dangerously wounded their enemies from a great distance. They were very swift of foot, either in flight or persuit; but in adversity they showed not so much fortitude as the Celtiberians. When they were not employed in war, they wasted much of their time in a light and effeminate dance, which required great flexibility of limbs. They always marched to battle in musical cadence; and they commonly sung a warlike ode in the moment of attack. DIOD. SICUL. p. 215.

THE LYCIANS.

The Lycians were a people of Asia minor. They were governed partly by Cretan, and partly by Carian laws. In the following custom they differed from all other nations.—They took their mother's, not their father's, name: and if any one asked a Lycian who he was, and of what family, he rested his nobility on his mother's house, and from it he deduced his genealogy. If a woman of quality married a plebeian, their children inherited the rank of nobles: but if a nobleman of the first class married a foreigner, or a prostitute, their children were not reputed nobles.

HERODOT. l. i. c. 173.

THE

THE LYDIANS.

The Lydians were likewise a people of Asia Minor. As to the laws and customs of the country, they were the same with those of the Greeks, except that the Lydians prostituted their daughters. Herodotus says, they were the first who coined gold and silver, and kept inns and shops. We are also told that they invented the games which were in use in their country and in Greece; and that about the time when they invented them, they sent a colony to Tuscany; of which colony we shall here give the reader some account.

When Atys the son of Manes was king of Lydia, there was in that country a great famine, which calamity the Lydians endeavoured at first to alleviate, by getting provisions from every quarter. But finding little relief from this expedient, they had recourse to other remedies. And as necessity is the mother of various inventions, their ingenuity was exercised on different contrivances. They invented the game of draughts, that of tennis, and many others, but not dice, of which the Lydians always denied that they were the authors. Then they played for a whole day at these games, that the idea, and consequently the desire of food might be precluded by their ardent attention to other objects. On the following day they ate, and kept their minds totally inactive. In this manner of living they persevered for twenty-eight years; but as their distress,

distress, instead of being diminished, grew more urgent and alarming, the king divided all the Lydians into two parts, one of which was to continue at home, and the other was to be sent abroad. He determined to remain in his country with the former division; the command of the latter he gave to his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. First they went to Smyrna, where they constructed vessels fit for a long voyage; and the necessary preparations being completed, they sailed in quest of a new settlement. After having coasted along several countries, they at length landed in Italy, in the territories of the Umbri, where they built many towns which they inhabited in the time of Herodotus; but they changed their name, and instead of Lydians, called themselves Tyrrhenians, from the name of Tyrrhenus, their leader, and the son of their king. HEROD. I. i. c. 94.

T H E M A C I.

They were a people of Libya. They shaved the crown of their heads, and let the hair grow around it, which they cut circularly. In battle, instead of the cuirasses, they wore ostrich skins. HEROD. I. iv. c. 195.

THE MARSEILLESE.

I^o.*The origin of the Marseillese.*

Rome had a great esteem for the inhabitants of Marseilles, on account of their conspicuous merit, and their inviolable attachment to the Romans. They came originally from Phocis, a city of Ionia. When Cyrus sent Harpagus to besiege it, its inhabitants, who abhorred the yoke of barbarians, to which many of their neighbours had submitted, embarked with their wives and children and effects; and after various adventures, they threw into the sea a mass of red-hot iron, and took an oath never to return to Phocis, till that mass should swim on the surface of the water. Afterwards they arrived on the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone; where they settled with the consent of the king of that country, and built a town, which in latter times was called Marseilles. Some authors are of opinion, that the town was built long before this emigration, by an ancient colony of the same Phocæans, in the reign of the former Tarquin, about the second year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, *i. e.* six hundred years before the birth of Christ, and that they who fled from the invasion of Harpagus, were deemed the founders of the city, because they greatly improved it, and augmented its power. The second colony enlarged and adorned Mar-

seilles in the sixtieth Olympiad, five hundred and forty years before Christ, and in the reign of Servius Tullius at Rome.

In the successor of the king who had received them with great humanity, they found not a patron and a friend. The growing power of their little state excited his jealousy. It was insinuated to him, that the strangers to whose supplications he had showed compassion, might one day become masters of his country by the power of arms. To alarm him the more, his subjects reminded him of the fable of the bitch, who, when the time of her labour was near, requested her companion to let her lodge in her hovel, only for eight days : a longer time was granted her on account of the helpless state of her puppies ; she kept possession of her lodging till they were large and strong ; and then very conscientiously and gratefully she usurped it for her own property. The inhabitants of Marseilles were obliged to take arms in their defence. An obstinate war at length terminated in their favour ; they were decisive conquerors : they remained unmolested possessors of the land which had been granted them ; and they soon extended their dominion. ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. v. p. 117, 118.

2°.

Colonies of the Marseillese.

In process of time they established many colonies, and built many towns, Agde, Nice, Antibes, Olbie ;—these colonies greatly con-

tributed to make them rich and powerful. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new establishments brought a great accession of Greeks to Gaul, and produced a surprising change in that country. The Gauls, by degrees, quitted their ancient rusticity, and learned humanity and politeness of manners. Instead of devoting their lives to war, they applied themselves to the study of good policy, and of the other arts of peace. They cultivated their ground, and planted their vines and olives. By these means that country and its old inhabitants exchanged a wild and barbarous state, for cultivation and elegance: and one would not have supposed that a Grecian colony had settled in Gaul, but that Gaul had migrated to Greece.

3°.

The laws of the Marseilles.

The inhabitants of the new city established an excellent government, which was aristocratical; *i. e.* it was administered by the oldest citizens. Six hundred senators composed the great council. Their office lasted for life. From this number fifteen were chosen to determine matters of common occurrence; and three to preside at their assemblies, as first magistrates. He who had no child, and could not prove himself a citizen by three degrees of parentage, was excluded from being a candidate for the dignity of *Timucus*, which was the name by which a senator was distinguished.

ed. If a senator gave an unjust sentence, he not only forfeited all his effects, but was likewise pronounced infamous by the six hundred.

By one of their laws, their women were prohibited from drinking wine. Their discipline was so severe, that a master was permitted to annul the enfranchisement which he had granted to a slave, three times, if in each of the instances it appeared that the slave had imposed upon him. But if the master made him free a fourth time, his liberty was then irrevocable. They had preserved, from the foundation of the city, a sword, with which their criminals were executed. That sword was, in time, so worn with rust, that it could hardly do its office. But it shewed that the Marseilles revered even the appendages of their sage institutions.

A religious respect was paid at Marseilles to hospitality ; and it was practised there with the warmest benevolence. That their protection of strangers might be preserved inviolate, no armed person was suffered to enter their city. Guards were stationed at its gate, to whom those who passed it delivered their arms, which were given them again when they returned. — None were admitted into Marseilles who were likely to introduce indolence, luxury, and pleasure. Falsehood and fraud were likewise denied access to that virtuous ~~republic~~.

They particularly piqued themselves on temperance, frugality, and modesty. The

greatest fortune of their women did not exceed a hundred pieces of gold, or a hundred pistoles. They were allowed to expend only five on cloaths, and as many on trinkets. Valerius Maximus, who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the policy which in his time was in force at Marseilles.—“ That republic,” says he, the austere guardian of its ancient severity, prohibits theatrical entertainments; as the works of the drama chiefly represent histories or tales of unlawful love.” The reason given for this prohibition is yet more excellent and remarkable than the account of the prohibition.—“ Lest a frequent display of those passions, adds the author, which are exhibited on the stage, should impel the spectators to realize the plots and catastrophes which attract their ardent attention.”

Their houses were not covered with tiles, but with clay. Before the gates of the city stood two biers; the one for the bodies of freemen; the other for those of slaves. In these biers the dead were conveyed in a carriage to the place of sepulture. At the funeral ceremony they did not shed tears, nor break out into those extravagant lamentations, which were indulged in other nations. The relations and friends of the deceased celebrated the eve of his interment with a domestic sacrifice and entertainment.—“ And, indeed, does it become us to abandon ourselves to grief, to be displeased with the Deity, because he hath not vouchsafed to human nature,

"ture, immortality, a prerogative of his own
 "existence?" — This is the sentiment of an
 ancient author. *Ibid.* p. 119, 120.

4°.

The state of the arts and sciences at Marseilles.

Tacitus, in his life of Julius Agricola, his father-in-law, gives, in a few words, a high encomium to the city of Marseilles. After having spoken of the excellent education which that great man owed to the affection and care of Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of eminent virtue, who made him employ his early youth in the study of the arts and sciences that suited his birth and years; he adds:—
 "He escaped the licentiousness to which
 "young men are subject, not merely by the
 "happiness of his disposition; but likewise
 "by his good fortune in having had Mar-
 "seilles for his school in his tender age; a
 "city, which, with a rare and admirable
 "temperature, unites the politeness of the
 "Greeks, and the simplicity and virtue of the
 "provinces."

It is evident from this passage of Tacitus, that Marseilles was, even in his time, a famous school of politeness, wisdom, and virtue; and likewise of all the arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, jurisprudence, fabulous theology, and every other kind of literature were there publicly taught. There Pytheas was educated, the first celebrated philosopher of the West. He

was a great geographer and astronomer; and lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus; or rather of Alexander the Great.

Marseilles cultivated the arts and sciences for ages, with ardour and success. We are told by Strabo, who lived in the reign of Augustus, that the Roman nobility sent their sons for education to Marseilles; and the same author gives that city the highest commendation by preferring it, for learning and discipline, to Athens. And we may infer from Tacitus, that its reputation was very great in later times.

The inhabitants of Marseilles were as famous for their literary taste, and for their extensive and various knowledge, as for their sage government. Cicero, in one of his orations, speaks of their policy in the highest terms of praise. "We may assert," says he, "without hyperbole, that Marseilles, in the wisdom of its political and civil institutions, not only excels all the states of Greece, but all other nations. That republic, so remote from her parent Greece, and surrounded by Barbarians, is yet so sagely governed by her senators, that it is much more easy to praise than to imitate their wisdom and virtue."

Ibid. p. 120, 121.

5°.

Other particulars relating to Marseilles.

An inviolable attachment to the Romans, to whose manners theirs were much more similar

similar than to those of the Barbarians around them, was a capital object in their policy;—an object which they never neglected in their conduct. Besides, the vicinity of the Ligurians made the union of the two states a connexion of interest, and enabled them to make diversions on each side of the Alps, which were reciprocally advantageous. They were therefore considerable friends to the Romans, on many occasions; by whom they were often in turn very powerfully assisted.

Justin relates a fact, which would do great honour to the inhabitants of Marseilles, if it was well authenticated. When they heard that the Gauls had taken and burned Rome, they were as much grieved for that misfortune of their allies, as if it had happened to themselves. But their affection was not confined to fruitless sorrow. By collecting their public and private gold and silver, they made up the sum with which the victors had obliged the vanquished to purchase peace; and sent it to Rome. The Romans, to recompence this noble action, granted to the citizens of Marseilles an immunity from tribute, and the privilege of sitting among the senators in the theatres of Rome. We are however indisputably informed, that the Marseilles gave their great allies all possible assistance against Annibal; and that their fidelity to Rome was not in the least weakened by the bad success of that republic in the first years of the Carthaginian war.

In

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, the Marseilles conducted themselves in a manner that strongly indicates their wisdom and integrity. Cæsar, against whom they had shut their gates, sent for the fifteen senators who had then the supreme authority, into his camp; he told them he should, with the greatest reluctance, begin the war by attacking their city; he endeavoured to influence them by motives of interest; and observed to them, that they would act much more prudently if they complied with the authority of all Italy, than if they endeavoured to support the extravagant projects of one man; and he added other strong arguments to prevent their farther opposition. After they had made their report to the senate, they returned to the camp, and gave this answer to Cæsar.—

“ They knew that the Romans were divided
“ into two parties; which of them was actu-
“ ated by just motives it was not for them to
“ determine. The two chiefs of the parties
“ had been equally protectors, friends, and
“ benefactors to their city; their gratitude
“ was therefore equally due to both; and
“ consequently they could not in any way
“ assist the one to the prejudice of the other,
“ nor admit him into their city nor into their
“ port.” They held out against a long siege
with great bravery; but at length an ab-
solute want of provisions obliged them to
surrender. Cæsar was irritated by their
persevering resistance: yet he restrained his
soldiers

soldiers when they entered the city, from pillage and slaughter:—such veneration can virtue extort even from ambition!

Ibid. p. 121. *et seq.*

6°.

A corruption of manners in Marseilles.

The Marseillse must have degenerated from their ancient virtue; they must have been corrupted by luxury and effeminacy; for a person of a debauched and profligate life was reproached with the following proverbial sarcasm,—“ Go to Marseilles;”—or—“ you must have lately come from Marseilles.”—Petronius, whose words are cited by Servius in his commentary on Virgil, relates a very barbarous custom of the inhabitants of Marseilles.—“ Whenever the plague,” says he, “ raged at Marseilles, one of the poor men of “ the city offered himself as a propitiatory “ victim, and was maintained a whole year at “ the expence of the public, in a luxurious “ and sumptuous manner. At the expiration “ of the year, he was crowned with vervein, “ and clothed in sacred garments. He walked “ round the city in procession; he was loaded “ with maledictions, that the calamities “ which distressed the community might be “ inflicted on him. He was then exiled with “ every mark of infamy; or, according to “ the reading of Pierre Daniel, he was sacri- “ ficed, and cut to pieces.” RECUEIL DES HIST. DES GAUL. ET DE LA FRANC. tom. i. pref. p. 71.

THE MASSAGETÆ.

The Massagetæ were a Scythian nation. They dwelt in Asia, beyond the Caspian Sea. Their dress and manner of living were like those of the Scythians. They sent infantry and cavalry to war, and they both had great reputation. They who carried bows and spears, carried likewise battle-axes. The metals which they used were gold and brass: with brass they pointed their arrows, and mounted their quivers; and their battle-axes were made of the same metal. But the ornaments of their head-dress, of their belts, and of their armour, were of gold. The breast-plates of their horses were of brass; but the bridle, the bit, and the barb were adorned with gold; for iron and silver were not much in use among them: they had many mines of gold and brass, but very few of silver and iron.

They did not limit their lives to any particular term; but when a person had grown very infirm, his relations assembled, and sacrificed him with some animals; the flesh of which, and the body of their friend, they dressed, and ate them. Thus they at once buried him and celebrated his funeral. This they esteemed the happiest kind of death. They did not eat the bodies of those who had died of malady; they interred them, and deplored their misfortune; for they supposed they would not be so happy in a future state as those who were immolated.

They were unacquainted with agriculture: they lived on flesh and on fish, with which they were abundantly supplied by the river Araxes. Their common drink was milk.

Of all the gods they only adored the Sun, to whom they sacrificed horses. Hence we may infer that they thought the swiftest animal was the properest victim to propitiate the swiftest deity. HERODOT. l. i. c. 215, 216.

THE MOSYNÆCI.

This Asiatic people dwelt in wooden towers of seven stories, which they had built in a corner of their province. The ten thousand Greeks attacked them with such vigour, that they made themselves masters of their citadels. For these wooden towers were their strongest fortifications; and the highest of them was the palace of their king. There, by a law of the country, he was obliged to pass his whole life; and thence he issued his orders to his subjects. Travellers have informed us, that they were the most savage of the Asiatic nations; that the rich among them fed their children with boiled walnuts; and imprinted various marks on their breasts and shoulders. DIOD. SICUL. p. 413.

THE NASAMONES.

The Nasamones, who were a Lybian people, in summer, left their cattle along the sea-coast, and went to a place called Ægilè, to gather

gather the fruit of the palm-tree, which grew there in great abundance. This fruit they dried in the sun, and then steeped it in milk ; which, when it had sufficiently imbibed the juice of the fruit, was their drink. They had, in general, many wives.

This was their manner of taking an oath ; and this was their form of divination. They laid their hand on the tombs of those of their ancestors who had been most renowned for their probity, and swore by their manes. With regard to their divinations, they went to the sepulchres of their fathers, where they first prayed, and then slept ; and whatever they dreamed in that sleep, they deemed it a sure prediction. To ratify an engagement, they presented a cup to each other, and drank together. But if they had no drink, they took dust from the ground and licked it.

HERODOT. l. iv. c. 172.

THE NAHARVALI.

The Naharvali were a people of Germany. They had in their country a sacred wood, which they had revered from time immemorial. The priest who was the minister of that wood, wore a woman's dress. They worshipped there two deities, whom they united in the name of *Alcis*, and who, in their belief, were two brothers who enjoyed perpetual youth. Those two brothers the Romans imagined, were Castor and Pollux ; though among the people of whom we are speaking,

speaking, no statue, no religious circumstance was to be found that denoted a foreign superstition. TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 43.

THE NEORITÆ.

The manners of the Neoritæ, who inhabited a canton of India, resembled, in general, those of the other inhabitants of that country. But they had a very extraordinary custom, which was peculiar to themselves. The body of a deceased person, accompanied by all his relations, who were naked, and armed with spears, was carried into a wood, where they stripped it of its clothes, and left it for a prey to the wild beasts. They then burned the clothes in honour of the Genii of the place, and terminated the ceremony with an entertainment which they gave to their friends.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 617, 618.

THE ISLAND OF THE OPHIODES.

This island was situated in the Arabian Gulph. It was, in ancient times, infested with large and dreadful serpents; and from them it took its name: but afterwards the kings of Alexandria entirely cleared it of those dangerous animals. The reason why they were so industrious to render their island habitable was, that it produced the topaz. It was a precious stone, as transparent as crystal, and of a beautiful golden colour. For the same reason strangers were prohibited access to

to the island. The guards by whom it was surrounded immediately put to death all those who ventured to land there.

Its few inhabitants led a wretched life. For they were not suffered to have any vessels, lest they should export the precious stones; and they who sailed past it, kept at as great a distance from it as they could, from their dread of the rigour of the king. The provisions which were brought to the inhabitants were sometimes consumed before the arrival of more, and the country was totally barren. This unhappy people, when their sustenance began to fail, assembled, and sat upon the shore, in painful expectation of a supply; and if it came but a little time after the usual time of its arrival, they were reduced to a miserable extremity.

The topaz grew on the rocks. In the day-time it was not discerned, as its lustre was then eclipsed by the splendour of the sun. But it was conspicuous in the shades of night, and was distinguished at a distance. The guards of the island went in turns in quest of the topaz. When they found one, they covered the glistening spot with a vessel of equal circumference. The next day they returned, cut out the piece of rock which had appeared luminous in the night, and gave it to the workmen who polished the topaz.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 121.

THE PAROPAMISADES.

This people inhabited a northern tract of Asia. Their country was covered with snow, and its excessive cold made it almost inaccessible to foreigners. Most of it was a vast plain without wood ; but it had many villages. The houses were covered with tiles, which were laid upon each other, and formed a pyramidal roof, with a hole at the top, to admit the light and to let out the smoke. These houses, as they had no windows, were sufficiently warm.

The extreme rigour of this climate confined the inhabitants for the greater part of the year at home, where they had provided themselves with all the necessaries of life. On the approach of winter, they covered their vines and their other trees with earth, and exposed them in the mild season. There was not in their whole country a verdant and agreeable prospect. On its mountains, and in its valleys, hardly any thing was to be seen but ice and snow. Neither bird nor beast was found there ; and the whole country seemed uninhabitable to those animals.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 605.

THE PÆONIANS.

In the name of Pæonians Herodotus comprehends several nations that dwelt along the river Strymon. They who lived on the lake Pæstias made it habitable in the following

manner. Boards were fixed on this lake, which formed a narrow passage over it from the land. At first the boards were thus fixed by the industry of all the inhabitants of the country; but afterwards, by a public ordinance, every individual, for each woman he should marry (for polygamy was one of their institutions), was obliged to fix on the lake three pieces of the wood of Mount Orbelus. A small house was completed on this little foundation. They made a hole in the boards by which they descended into the lake. Their children were tied with a cord round one of their legs, lest they should fall into the water. They fed their horses and their other beasts of labour with fish, of which there was such abundance in the lake, that whenever they let down a basket through the hole above mentioned, they drew it up full of fishes of two kinds: the one was called *Papraces*, the other *Tilones*.

HEROD. lib. v. c. 16.

THE PERSIANS.

Mr. Rollin, in his Ancient History, has collected from old authors all that is curious and interesting in the manners and customs of the Persians. He divides his subject into four or five articles, which contain as important information relative to that people as antiquity affords. We shall almost literally copy Mr. Rollin's account of them; it will be necessary to make but very few additions to the narrative of that accurate and elegant author.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE I.

Of their government.

When we have made the reader acquainted with the form of government among the Persians, and with their manner of educating the children of their kings, we shall treat of five particulars;—their public council, in which the affairs of state were discussed—the administration of justice—the care of the provinces—the invention of posts and couriers, and—the excellent order of their finances.

1°.

*Of monarchy—Of the respect due to kings.—
Of the Persian education.*

Monarchy is more ancient, and established in more countries, than any other form of government. It is likewise best adapted to preserve peace and union in a state; it is least exposed to vicissitudes and revolutions. Hence the wisest authors of antiquity, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and before *them*, Herodotus, have preferred it to every other policy. Monarchy was the government which ruled all the East, where democracy was totally unknown.

There the people paid the greatest honours to the reigning prince; for in him they respected the character of the Deity, whom he represented on earth. They thought a king was placed on the throne by the Supreme Be-

ing, and deputed by *him* to dispense the Providence and goodness of Heaven to mankind. These were the sentiments, and this was the language, even of heathens.—“*Principem dat Deus, qui erga omne hominum genus vice suâ fungatur.*”—“God appoints a prince, as his vicegerent to mankind.”

These sentiments are very just and laudable. The profoundest respect is unquestionably due to sovereignty, because it is instituted by the Deity for the good of mankind. And it is also evident, that if the respect paid to this authority is not proportioned to the extent of its divine commission, it will either become useless, or its good effects will be extremely circumscribed. But in the pagan world, this homage, which, within its due bounds is laudable and salutary to mankind, was often carried too far. It can only be properly limited by the principles of Christianity. “We honour the emperor, (said Tertullian, in the name of all the Christians) but we honour him as we are permitted, and in a manner suitable to his nature and station: *i. e.* as a man, who in rank is next to God; who owes to him all that he is; and who acknowledges him only for his superior on earth.”—It is from this idea of a sovereign that he calls him in another place, a second majesty who is only inferior to the first.

It was the custom of the Assyrians, and yet more of the Persians, to call their prince *The great King, the King of Kings.* This pompous title might be given to those princes for

for two reasons; because their empire consisted of many conquered kingdoms, which were united under the dominion of one potentate; and because they had in their court, and in remote countries, many kings who were their vassals.

The sovereignty descended from the father to the son, and commonly to the eldest. As soon as the prince was born who was one day to fill the throne, all the empire testified their joy at this event, by sacrifices, feasts, and all other kinds of public rejoicing, and his birthday was afterwards a solemn festival to all the Persians.

The manner in which the future master of the empire was brought up, is admired by Plato, and proposed by him to the Greeks as a perfect model of education. He was not totally under the management of the nurse, who was generally a woman of obscure condition. Some of the eunuchs, *i. e.* some of the principal officers of the court, were chosen to take care of the prince's health, and even then to instil into his tender mind the elements of reason and morals. When he was taken from them, he was put under the care of other masters, who were to continue an attention to his body and to his intellects. They taught him to ride, as he acquired strength, and they habituated him to the chace.

When he was fourteen years of age, at which time the mind grows vigorous and comprehensive, there were assigned him for

tutors four of the most sage and virtuous men of the state. The first of these, as we are informed by Plato, taught him magic; *i. e.* in their language, the worship of the gods, according to the ancient maxims, and according to the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromazes; he likewise instructed him in the principles of government. The second displayed to him the beauty and dignity of truth; accustomed him to strict veracity; and taught him the administration of justice. By the third he was trained to a contempt of pleasure; to an indeprivable freedom and independence, to a sovereignty over his passions, to true majesty. The fourth invigorated his courage, made him impulsive to fear, which might have made him a slave; and inspired him with a sage and noble confidence which is so necessary to those who are vested with supreme command. Each of his governors was eminent in that part of education with which he was trusted. The first excelled in the knowledge of religion and in the art of government; the second in his attachment to truth and justice; the third in temperance and an indifference to pleasure; and the fourth in strength and intrepidity of soul.

I know not, says Mr. Rollin, whether this multiplicity of masters, who were undoubtedly men of different characters, was adapted to accomplish the great design; whether it was possible that four men should have embraced the same principles, and would give the prince a consistent and harmonious education. Perhaps

haps the Persians apprehended that one person could not unite in himself all the qualities, talents, and knowledge that were requisite to form the presumptive heir to the crown.—So important an object did they esteem the education of a prince, even in those corrupt ages.

But if the tutors were unanimous in the discharge of their office, all their cares were frustrated by the pomp, luxury, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the instruments and appendages of a soft and voluptuous life, which put imagination always on the wing after new pleasures—temptations which the most excellent disposition could not resist. The mind, however confirmed by philosophy, was relaxed and dissolved by these invincible allurements.

The education of which Plato speaks, was only assiduously and properly applied to the children of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, who was the son of Xerxes, and lived in the time of Alcibiades, an interlocutor in the dialogue to which we have now occasionally referred. For we learn from Plato, in another place, that neither Cyrus nor Darius were solicitous to give the young princes their sons, a good education; and by what history relates of Artaxerxes Longimanus, we find, that he was more attentive than his predecessors to the improvement of the young princes:—and in this truly paternal care he was not imitated by those who succeeded him.

ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. i. p. 505. *et seq.*
R 4 2°. Of

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Of the public council, in which the affairs of the state were examined.

Though the power of the Persian kings was absolute, it was kept within bounds, by the public council, which consisted of the seven principal men of the nation, who were yet more conspicuous for their knowledge and wisdom than for their birth. We are told by Scripture that Esdras was sent to Judæa by the authority of king Artaxerxes and his seven counsellors. “*A facie regis et septem conciliorum ejus missus est.*”—The same scripture informs us, that those counsellors (a long time before, and in the reign of Darius, who is also called Assuerus, and who succeeded the Magian) were thoroughly acquainted with the laws, with the maxims of state, and with the ancient customs.—“*Interrogavit Assuerus sapientes, qui ex more regio semper ei aderant, et illorum faciebat cuncta concilio, scientium leges ac jura majorum.*”

From this latter passage I shall make some reflexions, which will contribute to display the genius and character of the Persian government.

1°. The king of whom the scripture there speaks, *i e.* Darius, was one of the most famous monarchs that ever reigned in Persia. Like other men, he was not without his failings; but he was eminent for his understanding and prudence. And we must attribute to

to him and to Cyrus the greater part of those excellent laws which have been in force in Persia ever since their times, and which are the source and tenour of its government. But Darius, though both his talents and his knowledge were extensive, thought that he stood in need of counsel; and he did not fear that the association of wise and experienced men with himself in the transaction of public affairs, would be any disparagement to his own capacity. In which part of his conduct he shewed great modesty and good sense, uncommon genius and penetration. For a prince, whose talents and knowledge are within mediocrity, is apt to be vain and assuming; and the more limited his faculties are, the more he despises good advice. To explain to him what he does not comprehend, is, in his opinion, to treat him with disrespect; and he deems himself injured by those, who, as he is the first person in his kingdom, will not likewise allow him to be the most intelligent. Darius thought very differently; for he did nothing without counsel.

2º. Darius, though he was an absolute monarch, and though he was probably jealous of the pre-eminence of his rank, did not think he lowered it by accepting a council, who, without sharing with him the authority of command, assisted him with their capacity and experience, and pretended to no influence but that which resulted from the exercise of reason. He thought a king acquired the greatest glory when he acted in obedience

ence to the laws of his country, when he made his will flexible to *them*, and when he deemed whatever they forbade, insurmountably prohibited.

3°. This council, which accompanied the king whithersoever he went (*ex more regio semper ei aderant*) was composed of those of his subjects who were of the most illustrious families, and most eminent for their wisdom. Under the direction of the prince, and always dependent on him, it was the source of public order, the origin of all wise determination and prudent action. To these counsellors the king intrusted many of the cares of royalty, with which he would have been oppressed, had he not been relieved by their assistance. By the diligence and fidelity of this perpetual council, the leading maxims of the state, and its true interest, were preserved ;—plans were wisely formed, and regularly executed ;—plots and innovations were prevented ; for public and general councils are filled by men of unsuspected honour. All the ministers are inspectors of the conduct of one another. All their understandings co-operate to examine, and to determine public affairs ; and they are equally conversant in the administration of the state ; for they are all obliged to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the matters that come before them, that they may give a sensible opinion ; though in their executive capacity they are limited by precise orders.

4°. The fourth and last observation I have to make, is, that they who composed this

council, were well versed in the laws, maxims, and privileges of the realm—“Scientium leges ac jura majorum.”

Two particulars, to which, as we are informed by scripture, the Persians were very attentive, must have greatly contributed to give the prince and his counsellors a masterly knowledge of the art of government. First, those public registers, in which all the decrees and all the orders of the prince; all the privileges granted to the people, and all the favours granted to individuals, were written. Secondly, the annals of the empire, in which all the events of the past reigns, all the public resolutions and regulations, all the services done the state by individuals, were minutely and exactly recorded:—annals which were carefully kept, and often read by the king and his ministers;—for the study of those records made them acquainted with the transactions of ancient times; gave them a clear idea of the state of the kingdom; warned them by memorable examples, against an arbitrary, unequal, and capricious conduct; and taught them a generous, active, and uniform policy.

Ibid. p. 508. *et seq.*

3^o.

Of the administration of justice.

To be a king is to be a judge. The throne is a tribunal; and the sovereign authority is a supreme power of administering justice.—“God hath established you king over his people”

" ple (said the queen of Sheba to Solomon), to " judge them, and to do them justice."— Kings are vested by the Deity with supreme power that they may fear him alone. He makes them independent, that they may dispense justice without controul. He gives them full power, that they may not have the want of it to plead in the discharge of their high office: He deputes to them all possible means of curbing injustice and oppression, that they may always tremble before him; that they may always be restrained from injuring mankind.

But what is this justice which God has confided to kings, of which he has constituted them the patrons? It is the same with *order*; and order requires that equality should be preserved; that violence should not usurp the authority of law; that the bands of society should not be broken; that innocence and simplicity should not be the dupes of artifice and fraud; that the laws should preserve peace and concord; and that the weakest citizen should be safe under the protection of the public authority.

It appears from many passages in history, that the Persian kings administered justice in person. That they might be properly qualified to discharge that important duty, they were instructed from their early youth in the laws of their country; justice was taught in the public schools of Persia, as rhetoric and philosophy were taught in other countries.

Such is the essential duty of royalty. It is reasonable, it is absolutely necessary, that the prince

prince should be assisted in this, as in the other parts of his function. But assistance does not imply that he should be deprived of activity and power. With the requisite assistance he is still the supreme judge, as he is the king. He communicates authority without resigning or impairing his decisive power. It is therefore indispensably incumbent on him to dedicate a part of his time to the study of jurisprudence. This study needs not be minute and circumstantial; but it should make him acquainted with the principal laws, and with the spirit of the whole code; that he may be qualified to superintend and determine justice, and, in critical and delicate cases, to substitute equity for law. The kings of Persia, before they ascended the throne, were taught this important knowledge by the magi, with whom the laws, as well as the religion of the country, were deposited.

Since justice is intrusted to the prince, and since he alone can communicate authority to administer it; it is likewise his duty thoroughly to know the characters of those to whom he delegates that authority; lest he should confide it to persons unworthy of that honourable deputation. It appears, that in Persia the kings kept a watchful eye over the administration of justice, that it might be impartially and fully dispensed. And one of the royal judges (for that was their title) having been convicted of taking bribes, suffered death by the sentence of Cambyses, who likewise ordered

ordered that the seat on which that iniquitous judge used to corrupt justice, should be covered with his skin, to which seat the son of the said judge succeeded; and was always warned in the execution of his office, by a most awful *memento*, not to deviate from the strictest integrity.

The judges were chosen from among the old men. No person could hold the office of judge who was not fifty years of age. The Persians were of opinion, that without years and experience an office could not be faithfully and judiciously discharged, which decided on property, reputation, and life.

Individuals could not put a slave to death, nor could the prince pronounce a capital sentence on a subject for a first fault; because it was rather to be imputed to the weakness of human nature, than to a depravity of disposition.

The Persians thought it was equitable to put into the balance of justice the good as well as the ill, the merits as well as the demerits of a criminal; and that one crime should not outweigh all the good actions of a man's preceding life. It was on this principle that Darius, after he had condemned a judge to die, who had prevaricated in his office, having recollect ed the important services which the state and the royal family owed to the criminal, revoked the sentence the moment before it was to be put in execution; and acknowledged that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

But

But an important and essential law of the judges was, never to pronounce sentence on any person, till he and his accusers had been brought face to face, and till a proper time and all fair assistance had been allowed him to answer the accusation. Secondly, if the accused person was found innocent, they condemned the accuser to suffer the same punishment which he had endeavoured to bring upon the other. Artaxerxes gave a noble example of the severity that should be used on such occasions.

A favourite of that king presented to him a memorial impeaching one of his best officers of many crimes, and among the rest of disloyalty. The ambition of the accuser aspired to the place which the officer enjoyed: hence he forged his calumny against him, which, as his own credit with his sovereign was great, he imagined would be believed without examination. For such is the character of the informer. He shuns the light and proofs; he endeavours to debar innocence of all access to the prince, of all opportunities to justify itself. The officer was put into prison. He requested of the king that his cause might be brought to a hearing, that the proofs against him might be produced. There were no proofs against him except the letter which was written by his enemy. His innocence therefore was evinced, and declared by the three judges, whom the king had appointed to examine his cause; and all the royal indignation fell on the vile calumniator, who had so maliciously

liciously attempted to impose on the confidence of his master. Artaxerxes, who was a very enlightened prince, and who knew that a great characteristic of sage government, was, to reverence the laws, and not to be afraid of informers, thought that if he should act differently from that conviction in the present case, he should transgress the plain rules of equity and humanity ;—that he should open dangerous avenues to envy, hatred, revenge, and calumny ;—arm invenomed and detestable malice with public authority against the simplicity of his most faithful subjects ;—and consequently deprive the throne of its most august privilege, that of being the asylum of innocence, and justice against obloquy and violence.

Another king of Persia before *him*, gave a more memorable example of firmness and the love of justice ; I speak of him whom the scripture calls Ahasuerus, who is supposed to be the same with Darius Hystaspes, and from whom the solicitations of Haman procured the barbarous decree, which commanded the extirmination of all the Jews in his empire on a fixed day. When God, by the means of Esther, had opened his eyes, he immediately made reparation for his fault ; not only by the revocation of the edict, and by the signal punishment of the impostor ; but likewise by a public acknowledgment of his fault, from which he meant that all succeeding princes should learn, that an ingenuous confession of misconduct would be so far from diminishing and

or weakening, that it would aggrandize and strengthen their dignity and authority. In his acknowledgment, after having premised, that artful and malevolent informers, by their subtlety and address, too frequently impose on the candour of princes, who are induced by their sincerity to think others as ingenuous as themselves;—he owns without reserve, that he had been unfortunately and unreasonably prejudiced against the Jews, who were his very faithful subjects, and the children of the most high God, to whose providence he and his ancestors owed their elevation to the throne.

As the Persians were enemies to all injustice, they abhorred falsehood, and deemed it a low and infamous vice. Among them, the most ignominious habit, next to lying, was to subsist by borrowing. This manner of living they esteemed lazy, servile, shameful; the more despicable as it tempted a man to lie.

Ibid. p. 511. et seq.

4°.

Of their care of the provinces.

It seems easy to preserve good order in a capital, where the magistrates receive all necessary information, and where the very sight of the throne is sufficient to keep the subjects in allegiance. It is not so with the provinces, where the magistrates and officers venture to commit misdemeanours, and where the people grow licentious and seditious, because they are distant from the sovereign, and consequently

ly hope to escape punishment. Persia, therefore, gave most attention to her provinces; and her attention was rewarded with proportionable success.

The empire of Persia was divided into a hundred and twenty-seven governments; and those to whom they were confided, were called Satrapæ. Three ministers were appointed to superintend their conduct, to whom they gave an account of all the material transactions in their provinces, and who afterwards made *their* report to the king. It was Darius the Mede, *i. e.* Cyaxares, or rather Cyrus in the name of his uncle, who established this excellent part of the policy of the empire. The substance of the duty of these Satrapæ was, to guard and promote, with equal vigilance and application, the interest of the sovereign and of the people. For Cyrus was convinced that no difference should be made between the interest of a king and his subjects; and that they were necessarily connected.—That subjects could not be happy unless their sovereign was powerful and able to defend them; and that a sovereign could not be truly powerful, unless his subjects were happy.

As the Satrapæ were the most considerable persons in the empire, Cyrus assigned them revenues proportioned to the dignity of their station. He enabled them to live nobly in their provinces, which manner of living contributed to procure them the respect of the great and of the vulgar. Their equipage,

their

their attendants, and their table corresponded with their dignity, without exceeding the bounds of a prudent moderation. He proposed himself to them for an example; and he expected that they, in their rank, would be models to all the nobles who were under their government;—that the excellent order which regulated the court of the prince, should be adopted in the courts of the Satrapæ, and in the families of the other grandees of the realm. And to prevent the Satrapæ, as much as possible, from abusing their extensive authority, he obliged his governors, generals, and other military officers, to give an account to him of their conduct, and of such material affairs as fell under their observation; and from him likewise they received their orders. Hence the Satrapæ knew, that if they should misapply their delegated power, there would be many dangerous inspectors of their misconduct; many censors who would represent it to the prince. To facilitate and expedite the intercourse of letters, couriers were appointed over all his empire, who ran night and day with almost incredible speed. We defer to speak of *them* more particularly, that we may not depart from our present subject.

The king did not wholly commit the care of the provinces to his Satrapæ, and to his governors; he was minutely informed of their state; and he often removed their grievances, and improved their advantages by his salutary orders. For to reign by the action of others, was, he thought, only to be half a king.

An officer of the crown came to his bed every morning, and awoke him with this warning — “Rise, Sir, and perform the duties, for ‘the sake of which Orosmades placed you on the throne.’”—Orosmades was a Deity who was worshipped by the Persians in ancient times. “A good prince, says Plutarch, ‘where he relates this custom, needs not the repetition of this counsel every morning; it is strongly enough dictated to him by his own heart.’”

It was therefore the custom of the king of Persia to visit all the provinces of his empire. He thought, like Trajan, that the truest glory, and the greatest pleasure of a good prince, is to make his subjects happy, from time to time, with the presence of their common father; to appease public dissensions and commotions; to quell seditions ready to break out into dangerous action, less by the rigour of command than by the authority of reason; to check the injustice and oppression of magistrates; to annul every decree that is repugnant to the spirit of the laws, and to good government; in short, to diffuse every where, salutary influence like a propitious star; or rather, like a true vicegerent of Divinity, to hear every thing, to know every thing, to be every where present; to attend humanely to every complaint, and to every supplication.

When the king could not visit his provinces himself, he sent thither in his place those grandees of the state who were most distinguished by their prudence and virtue. They were

were commonly termed the eyes and the ears of the prince; because by them he saw and heard all the transactions of his empire. By this Persian metaphor, which pronounced those nobles who composed the great council, and those who were employed in other services, the eyes and ears of the prince, *he* was warned that he had his ministers, as he had his organs of sense, not to lead an inactive life, but to exert his mind through *them*; and by the same metaphor his ministers were reminded, that they were not to act for their own interest, but for the glory of their sovereign, and for the welfare of his subjects.

The minute inspections and regulations which were made in these visits, by the king or by his deputies, prove, that wisdom and address in matters of government, were in those times well understood. The attention of the prince or his ministers was not engrossed by the leading objects of policy, such as war, finances, justice, and commerce. The safety and beauty of towns, repairs of public roads and bridges, the care of the forests, agriculture,—the encouragement of the meanest trades and professions were provided for on these occasions. And in fact, not only the subjects themselves, but whatever belongs to, or concerns the subjects, is worthy of the sensibility, of the attention, of the activity of a sovereign. His love to the state, if properly exercised, is universal. He sees all, he embraces all. He is the father of the public, and the father of each individual. Impressed

on his heart is the idea of every province, of every city, of every family. He is affected, informed, interested, by every motion of the great political machine.

We have already observed, that the Persians were very attentive to agriculture. It was indeed one of the first objects with the prince; and the Satrap, whose province was best cultivated, had the greatest share of the royal favour. As there were generals to command the armies of Persia, there were other officers appointed to superintend the rural labours of that country. The one guarded, and the other cultivated the kingdom; and thus two departments, though separate in their immediate direction, were connected by their reciprocal necessity. The prince protected them both with equal attention; as they equally contributed to the public good: for if lands cannot be cultivated without armies to defend and keep them in safety, neither can armies be supported without the cultivation of lands. The prince, therefore, from the weightiest motives, took an exact account of the state of agriculture throughout his dominions, when he could not visit them himself;—was informed whether each province, whether each canton yielded all that it could produce;—descended even to the minuteness which Xenophon attributes to the younger Cyrus, of knowing whether the gardens of individuals were fruitful, and kept in good order;—recompensed the Satrapæ and superintendents of lands, whose provinces and cantons were best

best cultivated; and punished the negligence of those indolent officers, whose lands were uncultivated and barren. Such cares are very worthy of a sovereign; they establish industry and diffuse plenty; they banish idleness and vice, which dishonour and ruin a state.

Xenophon, after the passage I have cited, makes Socrates pronounce a high encomium on agriculture. He represents it as the first and best occupation of man; as the nurse of all ages and conditions; as the source of health, strength, plenty, riches, and of many pleasures within the bounds of prudence and innocence, as the school of sobriety, justice, religion; in a word, of all the virtues civil and military. He quotes the excellent observation of Lysander the Lacedæmonian, to whom the younger Cyrus, when he was walking with him at Sardis, shewed him some trees which that prince had planted with his own hands.—“ It is with reason, said Ly-
“ sander, that the world talks so much of the
“ good fortune of Cyrus: for, in the midst of
“ luxury and magnificence, you have preserv-
“ ed a taste for amusements which are at once
“ innocent and noble.” *Ibid.* p. 515. *et seq.*

5°.

Of the invention of posts and couriers.

The invention of posts and couriers is generally given to Cyrus, and they are not mentioned in history before his time. As the Persian empire, after its last conquests, was vast-

ly extensive; and as the governors of his provinces, and his generals, were obliged to write him exact accounts, from time to time, of what passed under their command; to make the epistolary intercourse between him and his officers more safe and expeditious, he appointed posts and couriers in every province. After having computed how far a good horse could go in a day, with expedition, and yet without being injured, he built stables at equal distances, and agreeably to that computation. Those stables were well supplied with horses and with grooms. There was likewise a master to each of the stables, who received the packets as they arrived, and immediately dispatched them with fresh men and horses. Thus the post proceeded night and day with great speed, and was neither interrupted by snow nor rain, nor heat, nor by any other inconvenience of the seasons. Herodotus speaks of these couriers in the reign of Xerxes.

In the Persian language they were called *αγγεῖοι*. The superintendence of the posts became an office of great importance and dignity. It was held by Darius, the last king of Persia of that name, before he sat on the throne. Xenophon remarks, that this establishment was yet continued in his time; a circumstance which perfectly agrees with what we are told in the book of Esther concerning the edict which was issued by Ahasuerus in favour of the Jews; and which was published throughout the vast empire of Persia, with a rapidity that would have been incredible, had

not

not the posts instituted by Cyrus in that country then subsisted.

It is surprising that these posts, invented in the east by Cyrus, and continued by his successors through many ages, as they were so conducive to good government, were not adopted in the west; especially by those excellent politicians, the Greeks and Romans.

It is likewise surprising, that this invention of posts was not, in progress of time, more extended; that the Persians used it only in state-affairs; and that they never thought how much it would facilitate the communication of individuals;—how convenient it would be to people on journeys, to trade, and to common epistolary correspondence. It is well known with what difficulties an intercourse between persons at a distance from each other, was attended in those times, and in succeeding ages. They were then obliged to send their letters by servants; a slow and expensive mode of conveyance;—or to wait for the departure of those who intended to go into the provinces in which their correspondents resided. These expedients, too, were subject to delays and disappointments.

The advantage of posts in these times we fully enjoy. But we are not properly sensible of their advantages. On the blessings of life we do not set a just value, till we are deprived of them. France is indebted for its posts to the university of Paris. As it was the only university in the kingdom; and as it received great numbers of scholars, not only from our

our provinces, but from many neighbouring nations; for their convenience it established messengers, whose business it was not only to carry clothes, gold, silver, jewels, instruments of law; informations, inquests; to escort all sorts of travellers, and to find them horses and provisions;—but likewise to carry all letters and packets.

These messengers, in the registers of the nations of the faculty of arts, are often styled *nuntii volantes*, to express their expedition. They were the servants of the public as well as of the university.

The state then owes to the university of Paris, the establishment of these messengers, and the speedy conveyance of letters. By it this establishment was effected to the satisfaction of our kings, and of the public. It continued the patroness of its institution, till the year 1576, in spite of many oppositions from the farmers of the royal revenues; oppositions which cost it immense sums. In that year Henry the Third, by an edict which he published in the month of November, nominated royal couriers in the cities and towns in which they had been appointed by the university, and granted them the same rights and privileges which the messengers of the university had enjoyed under the kings his predecessors.

Ibid. p. 520. *et seq.*

6°.

Of their care of the finances.

The prince is the sword and the shield of the state. He is the guardian of its tranquillity. To defend it, he must have arms, soldiers, fortified places, magazines, and ships; which are all articles of great expence. A fund is likewise necessary to support the majesty of empire, to make the person and authority of the sovereign respectable. For the security of a state, and to support the grandeur of royalty, tributes were first imposed. And as they took their rise from a regard to the good of the community, by an attention to that object the exaction and application of them should be regulated. Now under this restriction they must always be just and equitable: for what individual has reason to complain that he is obliged, by a small contribution, to purchase his safety and tranquillity?

The revenues of the Persian kings arose either from pecuniary tributes and taxes, or from natural contributions; *viz.* provisions, horses, camels, and the rare productions of every province. Strabo tells us, that the Satrap of Arminia sent annually to the king of Persia twenty thousand colts. Hence we may form an idea of the tributes of the other provinces. Tributes were only imposed on the conquered nations. The old subjects, *i.e.* the Persians, were exempt from all impositions,

sitions. Even the conquered provinces were not taxed till the time of Darius, in whose reign the sums were determined that each of them was to pay. They almost amounted (according to the calculation of Herodotus, which however is somewhat embarrassed and uncertain) to forty-four millions.

The place where most of these treasures were kept, was called, in the Persian tongue, Gaza. Part of them were likewise deposited at Susa, at Persepolis, at Pasargada, at Damascus, and at other cities. The gold and silver were kept in lingots, which were coined as they were wanted. The principal specie of the Persians was in gold, and was termed *Daricus*, from the name of Darius, in whose reign it was first coined, and whose image it bore: the figure on its reverse was an anchor. The Daric is sometimes called *Stater Aureus* in ancient authors; because, like the Attic Stater, it weighed two drachmas of gold, which were in value twenty drachmas of silver, and consequently ten livres of French money.

Besides the pecuniary, there were natural contributions, viz. provisions for the king's table and household, corn, forage, and other subsistence for the army, and horses for the cavalry. These articles were furnished by the twenty-six Satrapies, by each according to its rated quota. Herodotus informs us, that the Satrapy of Babylon alone, which was far more opulent and extensive than any of the rest, supplied all these articles during four months

months every year. Consequently a third part of the collective tribute of the kingdom was levied on that province.

Hence we find that the kings of Persia took only a part of their tribute in money, and the rest in the productions of each province; a circumstance that shewed their wisdom, moderation, and humanity. They had undoubtedly observed, that it is very difficult, especially for people unacquainted with commerce, to convert their effects into money, without great disadvantages; that to accept the produce of a district, towards the support of the state, is to take a tribute which is the least oppressive to the subject, and which is therefore the most cheerfully paid to the prince.

Certain cantons were likewise assigned to the support of the queen's toilet and wardrobe; one for her girdle, another for her veil; and others for other parts of her dress. And those cantons, which were very large, (one of them was a day's journey) took their names from their respective destinations; one was called the Queen's Girdle; another the Queen's Veil. And several cantons of Persia had such names, and their revenues were thus applied in the time of Plato.

The pensions which the kings of Persia gave to their favourites exactly corresponded with what we have related concerning the queen. We know that the Persian monarch assigned to Themistocles the revenues of four towns. One supplied him with wine, another

ther with bread, the third with animal food, and the fourth with furniture. Before his time, Cyrus settled on Pytharcus of Cyzicus, for whom he had a great esteem, the revenues of seven towns. In the history of succeeding ages we meet with many similar examples.—

Ibid. p. 527. et seq.

ARTICLE II.

Of war.

The Asiatics were naturally brave; but they were enervated by a long habit of luxury and pleasure. We must, however, except the Persians, who, before the time of Cyrus, and in his reign, maintained the character of a very warlike people. The rough and mountainous country they inhabited, was undoubtedly one cause of their hardy and parsimonious life, which greatly contributed to make them good soldiers. The excellent education of the young Persians likewise fortified their minds, and inspired them with a martial spirit.

With regard to the different Asiatic nations we must therefore make distinctions, especially in the subject of which I am now treating. Thus any encomiums that I shall give to the principles and discipline of war, must be applied to the Persians; and to the Persians in the reign of Cyrus; and all my remarks on the pusillanimity, and on the defects of the military art of the Eastern nations, will refer to the other Asiatic states; to the Assyrians,

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Babylonians, Medes, Lydians, and to the Persians after they had degenerated ; whose glory sunk, as we shall hereafter show, soon after the reign of Cyrus.

I^o.*Their entrance into the service.*

The Persians were trained to war from their early youth, by various exercises. They generally served from the age of twenty years to that of fifty. In peace as well as in war, they wore a sword, as is the custom of modern gentlemen ; a custom which was not in use among the Greeks and Romans. They were obliged to be enrolled at a certain age ; and to endeavour any way to evade that obligation was a great crime; as appears by Darius's cruel treatment of the two young noblemen, whose exemption from military service their parents had requested of that monarch, that they might reside with them, and comfort their old age.

Herodotus mentions a body of troops, who were the prince's guards, and who were called *Immortals*; for their number, which was ten thousand, was always the same ; and whenever one of the soldiers died, another was immediately substituted in his place. This body was probably established by Cyrus, to whom ten thousand men were sent from Persia, for his guards. They were distinguished from all the other troops of Persia, by their splendid armour, and yet more by their courage.

rage. Quintus Curtius mentions them, and another body of fifteen thousand men, by whom the prince was likewise guarded. These were called *Doryphori*. *Ibid.* p. 530.

2°.

Of their arms.

The arms which the Persians commonly used were—a sabre, or scimitar, *acinaces*; a kind of dagger, which hung at their girdle, on their right side; a javelin or half-pike, with a very sharp point of iron. It appears that they carried two javelins to battle; the one they threw; with the other they fought in close engagement. They did great execution with their bows and arrows. The form of their quiver was such that it served them for a weapon. They had slings; but they made little use of them.

It appears from many passages in ancient authors, that the Persians wore no helmets, but only their common caps, which they called *Tiaras*. This we are expressly told of Cyrus the Younger, and of his army. Yet some authors give the Persian soldiers helmets; time therefore must have made some changes in their armour.

Most of the infantry wore brazen cuirasses, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they were not at all encumbered or retarded by them; neither were the cavalry by the vambraces and cuishes that covered their arms, thighs, and legs. The forehead
breast,

breast, and flanks of their horses, were likewise defended with brazen armour. They were termed *Equi Cataphracti*—barbed horses.

Authors differ much concerning the form of their bucklers. At first they were made of osier-twigs, and small and light. But we find in many authors, that their shields were afterwards of brass, and of a great length.

In early times the main body of a Persian army was composed of light-armed troops, *viz.* of archers and others who used missile weapons. But Cyrus found by experience, that such troops were only fit for skirmishing, or fighting at a distance, and that it was most advantageous to come immediately to close fight. He therefore made a prudent innovation, by reducing those light-armed troops to a small number.

Ibid. p. 530, 531.

3°.

Of the chariots armed with scythes.

Cyrus made a considerable change in the chariots of war. They were in use long before his time, as we find in the sacred writings, and in Homer. These chariots had only two wheels. They were commonly drawn by four horses a-breast; two men rode in them, of distinguished birth and valour; one of whom fought, the other drove the chariot. Cyrus thought this method, which was very expensive, was but of little service.

For three hundred chariots required twelve hundred horses, and six hundred men, of whom only three hundred fought; the other three hundred, though all men of rank and merit, and capable of doing great service if properly employed, served only for charioteers. To remove this inconvenience, he doubled the number of the fighting men who rode in them, by making the charioteer a combatant as well as the other.

By his direction the wheels were made stronger, and the axle-trees were lengthened. At the ends of the axle-trees, scythes were fixed horizontally; and under the axle-trees other scythes were fixed, with their points towards the ground, to cut in pieces men and horses overthrown in the field of battle. It appears, by different passages of ancient authors, that in latter times they armed the end of the pole with two long spikes, to pierce whatever came in their way; and that the back of the chariot was defended with many rows of sharp knives, to prevent the enemy from mounting it behind.

These chariots were used for many ages in all the countries of the East. They were deemed the principal strength of an army, the certain instruments of victory, and the most dreadful objects to an enemy. But as the art-military improved, their inconveniences were felt, and they were no longer used. In short, they were of little service except on level ground of great extent, where there were neither woods nor rivers.

These

These chariots were rendered useless by the ingenuity of later times. Sometimes a ditch was drawn before them, which immediately stopt their course. Sometimes an able and experienced general, like Eumenes, in the battle that was fought between Scipio and Antiochus, detached against the chariots, slingers, archers, and spearmen; who spreading around them, poured upon them a shower of stones, spears, and arrows: while their shouts, and those of the whole army struck terror into the horses, threw them into confusion, and often made them turn against their own troops. Sometimes the action and effects of the chariots were prevented by attacking their quarter with unexpected rapidity; for they were only of service by taking a long course, which gave impetuosity to their motion. Thus the Romans, under the command of Sylla, at the battle of Chæronea, repelled and put to flight the chariots of the enemy, whom they partly routed by raising as loud peals of laughter as if they had been viewing the Circensian games, and by calling to them to send out more chariots.

Ibid. p. 532, 533.

4°.

Of their discipline in peace and war.

Nothing can be imagined more excellent than the order and discipline of the Persian troops, in the reign of Cyrus, both in peace and war. His methods of forming his troops, of habituating them to service, are

particularly related by Xenophon in the Cyropaedia. He invigorated their bodies with military strength and activity by frequent exercises, and by hard labour ; he prepared them for real battles, by mock-encounters ; he roused and animated their courage by praises and rewards.. These expedients make a perfect model for the practice of a general ; and unless he adopts them in time of peace, his troops will be languid and spiritless in war. For the body and the mind are alike formed by habit ; in ease and indolence we grow weak and timid ; we acquire hardness and intrepidity from action and dangers.

In a common march as much order and exactness were observed as on a day of battle. Not a soldier left his standard or quitted his rank. It was the custom of an Asiatic army to draw a deep ditch around their camp, if they were to halt but for a night. This precaution they took that they might not be surprised by the enemy, and obliged to fight. They commonly secured their camp only with this ditch, and with a rampart of earth thrown up from it ; though sometimes they fortified the ditch with strong pallisades.

We may judge of their exact and harmonious movements on a day of battle by their admirable order in their marches and encampments. Xenophon's account of their dispositions and alertness on such occasions, is equally entertaining and surprising. The best regulated family was not more attentive and obedient to its father than the Persian army
was

was to Cyrus. He had long accustomed it to that spontaneous discipline, on which the success of all enterprises depends. For what avails the best head in the world, if the arms do not act in conformity with its dictates? He had at first used some severity which is necessary to establish discipline. But that severity was always accompanied with reason, always tempered with benevolence. The example of the chief, who was always the first in danger, authorized his commands and his reproofs. The rule from which he never deviated, of granting favours impartially to merit alone, attached all his officers to their duty. For nothing more discourages warriors, even those who love their prince and their country, than to see the honours due to their dangers and blood, conferred on others. Cyrus had the happy art of inspiring even his private soldiers with the love of discipline and good order, by inspiring them first with the love of their country and of honour—but above all, by making himself the object of their affection and reverence, by his goodness and liberality. By this influence alone will a general be able to maintain military discipline in its full vigour.

Ibid. p. 533, 534, 535.

5°.

Their order of battle.

As in the time of Cyrus there were few fortified places, wars were then waged in the open field: and his reflections and experience had taught him, that nothing contributes more to victory than a numerous and good cavalry; and that the winning of a pitched battle often insured the conquest of a whole kingdom. He found the Persian army destitute of this important and necessary resource, which he was industrious to supply. His endeavours were so successful, that he formed a body of cavalry which was superior to that of his enemies in discipline and valour, if not in number. There were many studs in Persia and in Media; but those of Nisaea, in the latter province, were the most famous; and from them the stables of the king were supplied. We shall now see what use they made of their cavalry and infantry.

The famous battle of Thymbra gives us a full idea of the tactics of the ancients in the time of Cyrus; it shows us, that in ranging their troops and in using their arms, they had great skill and address.

They knew that the most advantageous order of battle was to place the infantry in the center, and the cavalry, which consisted chiefly of the Cuirassiers, on the two wings of the army. By this disposition the flanks of the infantry were covered, and the horse were

at

at liberty to act and extend themselves as occasion should require.

They likewise knew that it was necessary to form many lines which might support one another: for an army drawn up in a single line might be easily pierced, disabled from rallying, and therefore totally defeated. They formed, therefore, the first line twelve men deep of heavy infantry, who, on the first onset used the half-pike, and afterwards the sabre and the sword, in close engagement.

The second line consisted of light troops, who flung their javelins over the heads of the first. These javelins were made of a heavy wood, were pointed with iron, and were launched with great force. They were thrown to put the enemy into confusion before they came to close fight.

Their third line was composed of the archers; as their bows were bent to the extreme, their arrows flew over the two first lines, and greatly annoyed the enemy. In this line of archers slingers were sometimes placed, who launched great stones with prodigious force. But in later times, the Rhodians, instead of stones, used leaden bullets, which the slings carried as far again.

A fourth line, consisting of heavy troops like the first, composed the rear of the army. They supported the other lines, and kept them to their posts when they began to give way. They served likewise for a rear-guard and body of reserve, to attack the enemy, when they penetrated to their station.

They had likewise moving towers carried on great waggons, which were drawn by sixteen oxen. In these towers were twenty men who threw stones and javelins. They were placed behind the body of reserve; and assisted the troops when they were repulsed and thrown into disorder, to rally and renew the charge.

The chariots armed with scythes were much used, as we have already informed the reader. They commonly placed them in the van, but sometimes on the wings of the army, when they were afraid of being surrounded by the enemy.

Such was the knowledge of the ancients in the art of war. But we do not find that their military experience made them complete generals. They were not famed for choosing advantageous situations, for transporting the war into a plentiful country; for availing themselves of defiles, either to molest the enemy in their march, or to defend themselves against their attacks; for laying artful ambuscades; for opportunely protracting a campaign; for avoiding a decisive engagement with an army superior in strength; and for reducing it to distress by political delays. Neither do we find that they endeavoured to defend their right and left wing with a river, marsh, or eminence, and by those natural securities to render the front of a small army as strong as that of a greater; and to put it out of the enemy's power to surround it.

We find, however, in the history of the first campaigns of Cyrus against the Armenians and Babylonians, some beginnings, or elements of this part of the art of war, which were not much improved. But time, reflection, and experience taught the great commanders of later ages all the precautions, all the stratagems of war: and we see how admirably they were used in the wars between the Carthaginians and the Romans, by Annibal, Fabius, Scipio, and the other generals of either nation.

Ibid. p. 535. et seq.

6°.

Of the attack and defence of strong places.

The ancients, in attacking and defending fortified places, did all that could be expected from the nature of their arms, and from the improvements which in their days had been made in the art of war.

Their attack of places.

The first way of attacking fortified places was the blockade. They invested the town with a wall, in which, at proper distances, were redoubts and arsenals;—this wall was surrounded with a deep ditch well palisaded; to prevent the besieged from making sallies, and from receiving troops or provisions. They then waited patiently till famine supplied the defects of art. Hence the length of the sieges which are mentioned by ancient writers.—The ten years siege of Troy;—that of Azoth by

by Psammitichus, which lasted twenty-nine years. The siege of Babylon might have been of very long duration (for its inhabitants had provisions for twenty years) had not Cyrus taken it by an unexpected and most artful stratagem.

As the blockade was very tedious, they invented scaling, which was effected by applying many ladders to the walls of a town, and by the ascent of many files of soldiers up those ladders.

To render scaling impracticable, the walls of towns were built high, and the towers with which they were flanked, higher; these heights the scaling ladders could not reach. Another method was then to be invented to surmount the height of the ramparts;—they built moving towers of wood higher than the walls, with which they approached them. On the top of the tower, which was a kind of platform, soldiers were placed; who, with darts and arrows, and with the balistæ and catapultæ, cleared the ramparts of their defenders. Then from a lower story of the tower, they let down a sort of draw-bridge, which they rested on the walls. From this bridge they ascended into the town.

A third method was used, that shortened the sieges. They made breaches in the walls with battering rams. The battering ram was a huge beam, with a strong head of iron or brass, which was driven against the walls with the utmost force. Of these rams there were different kinds. I shall explain them minutely

ly in my dictionary, as well as the other machines of war.

They had yet a fourth way ; that of sapping or undermining, which was practised with two views. They made a subterranean passage under the walls into the town. Or, after they had propped the foundation of the wall, they filled the cavity with all sorts of combustible matter, which, when it was set on fire, burned the props and the foundation, and brought down a part of the wall.

2°. Their defence of places.—With regard to the fortifying and defending of places, it appears that all the essential rules followed by modern engineers, were known and practised by the ancients. They overflowed the environs of the town, to prevent the approach of the enemy ; their ditches were deep and palisaded ; their ramparts were thick, and fenced with brick or stone ; that the battering ram might not be able to demolish them ; they were very high, that the scaling of them might be likewise impracticable. They had their projecting, or salient towers, to which our modern bastions that flank the curtains, owe their origin ; they had many ingenious machines to discharge arrows, darts, javelins, and great stones with prodigious force ;—Parapets, and battlements for the security of the soldiers ;—covered galleries which went round the wall, and were as safe as subterraneans,—intrenchments behind the breaches and necks of the towers ;—their sallies too, to destroy the engines, and works of the besiegers ;—their counter-mines

to defeat the mines of the enemy;—their citadels, which were the places of retreat for the besieged in extremity; their last resource, when they were hard pressed by the besiegers: and by retiring into them they often rendered the taking of a town ineffectual, or made an honourable capitulation.

These are almost all the articles of the ancient fortification; and they are the same with those of the moderns, some changes being excepted which were suggested by the difference of arms.

Ibid. p. 538. et seq.

7°.

The state of the Persian troops after Cyrus.

We must not judge of the Persian troops in later times, by their valour and merit in the reign of Cyrus. Mr. Bossuet remarks, that after the death of that prince, the Persians forgot the happy effects of a strict discipline, of the judicious marshalling of an army, of good order in marching and encamping; and of that vigilance and good conduct which makes a collective body of men move as harmoniously as one machine. Intoxicated with the pomp and parade of power and grandeur:—relying more on force than on prudence, on numbers than on choice; they thought they had provided against every danger when they had collected an immense army, which went to battle with resolution enough, but without order; and which was encumbered with a useless multitude who escorted and serv-ed

ed the king and his grandees. For their luxury was so great, that in the army they were accompanied with all the elegance and magnificence of their court ; the king was attended in the camp by his wives and concubines, and by all his eunuchs. His tent was decorated with gold and silver plate, with a great quantity of other precious moveables ; in short, with all the apparatus of a splendid and voluptuous life.

An army thus composed, and embarrassed with an excessive multitude of soldiers, was likewise incumbered with a prodigious number of men who were not trained to arms. In this confusion, it could not move in concert : orders were not given in time ; and in an action, the motions of the army were tumultuous : nor was it possible to prevent the tumult. Add to this, that they were under a necessity of engaging soon, and of marching rapidly from one country to another ; for this immense body soon found itself in want ; as beside its quick consumption of the necessities of life, it was eager for the gratifications of luxury and pleasure. And indeed it is difficult to imagine how it could procure subsistence.

Yet with this ill-connected multitude, and with this magnificence, which were detrimental to military success, the Persians astonished and intimidated those nations which were as little acquainted with the art of war as themselves. And they who understood it, were either weakened by their own divisions, or over-

powered by the numbers of the enemy. Hence Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, of her sage institutions, and of the conquests of her Sesostris, was subjugated by Persia. The Persians found it not very difficult to conquer Asia minor, and even the Greek colonies, which the Asiatic softness had corrupted. But when they came to Greece, they found such enemies as they had never opposed before:—armies admirably disciplined, brave and experienced generals, soldiers accustomed to live on a scanty subsistence, inured to every hardship, and formed to labour and agility from their earliest youth, by wrestling, and the other exercises of their country.—Armies not numerous indeed, but resembling those compact and vigorous bodies, that seem all nerve and soul—so attentive too, and obedient to command, so flexible to the orders of their generals, that one spirit seemed to animate them all; in such proportion and exactness did they move;—in so beautiful an order.

Ibid. p. 540. et seq.

ARTICLE III.

Of the arts and sciences.

As mankind settled first in Asia after the deluge, we may reasonably conclude, that that country was the nurse of the arts and sciences, the remembrance of which had been preserved by tradition, and which owed their restoration to human wants.

I need not inform the reader, that the contents of this third article refer not merely to the Persians, but to the Asiatics in general.

1°.

Of architecture.

The construction of the tower of Babel, and not long after the building of the famous cities Babylon and Nineveh, which were deemed prodigies ;—the magnificence of the vast palaces of the eastern kings and nobles, consisting of many halls and apartments, and adorned with every embellishment of elegance and grandeur ;—The regularity and symmetry of the pillars and arches, multiplied and elevated one upon another ;—the noble gates of the cities ; the breadth of the ramparts ;—the height and strength of the towers ; the commodious keys on the banks of the great rivers ; the large and bold bridges over those rivers ;—these, and many other works, show the great progress which architecture had made even in times of remote antiquity.

Yet I know not, says Mr. Rollin, whether the art had then reached that perfection to which it afterwards arrived in Greece and Italy ; whether the vast edifices of Asia and Egypt, which were so highly celebrated by the ancients, were as remarkable for their regularity, as for their extent and grandeur. I here allude (continues the author) to the five orders of architecture, to the Tuscan, the Doric, the Ionic, the Corinthian, and the Composite.—

For

For I never meet with the Asiatic or Egyptian order : and hence I suspect that the pillars, pilasters, and other ornaments of their buildings, were not formed with the indispensable graces of proportion and symmetry.

Ibid. p. 543, 544.

2^o.

Of music.

It is not surprising that in Asia, a country extremely addicted to luxury, music, one of the most enchanting companions of effeminate and joyous hours, was cultivated with great attention. The very names of the principal modes of the ancient music (modes which modern music has adopted—*viz.*—the Dorian, the Phrygian, the Lydian, the Ionian, and the Æolian, sufficiently prove to what country music owes its birth, or at least, where it first made a considerable progress. We learn from holy scripture, that in the time of Laban, music and musical instruments were in great repute in the country in which he dwelt, *viz.* in Mesopotamia ; for among his other reproaches to his son-in-law Jacob, he complains, that by his precipitate flight, he had put it out of his power to conduct him and his family home—with mirth, and with songs ; with tabret and with harp. Of the booty set apart by Cyrus for his uncle Cyaxares, two excellent female musicians are mentioned, who had accompanied a lady of Susa, and were made prisoners with her.

What

What improvements music received from the ancients, is a question which hath much exercised the inquiries of the learned. A question which can never be determined, unless several pieces of ancient music, written in the ancient manner, were exhibited to the eye, and tried by the ear. But unfortunately it is not with the music as it is with the sculpture of the ancients, of which illustrious monuments yet remain;—but none of their musical productions are preserved by, which we might judge whether the ancient or modern music deserved the preference.

"Tis generally allowed that the ancients were acquainted with the triple symphony; that is, the concert of voices, that of instruments, and that of voices and instruments together. It is likewise agreed, that they excelled in the rythmus. What is meant by rythmus is the assemblage of various times in music, in certain order, and in certain proportions. To understand this definition we must observe, that the music of which we are speaking, was always sung to the words of certain verses; in which all the syllables were long or short; that the short syllable was pronounced as quick again as the long; that consequently the former made one time, and the latter two; and therefore the sound which answered to this, continued twice as long as the sound which corresponded with the other; or in other words, it consisted of two times, the other but of *one*;—that the verses which were sung, consisted of a certain number of

feet, formed by the different combination of these long and short syllables; and that the rythmus of the song regularly followed the march of the feet. As these feet, whatever was their nature or extent, were always divided into two equal or unequal parts, the former of which was called *αποτις*, elevation, or *raising*, and the latter *θετις*, depression or *falling*; so the rythmus of the song, which answered to every one of the feet, was divided into two parts equally, by what we now call a *beat*, and a *rest*; or intermission. The scrupulous attention which the ancients paid to the quantity of syllables in their vocal music, made their rythmus much more regular and harmonious than ours; for our poetry is not formed by the measure of long and short syllables; yet a good modern musician, may, by the length of sounds, express the quantity of every syllable. *Ibid.* p. 544. 545.

3°.

Of physic.

We likewise discover in those early times, the origin of physic; the beginnings of which, as of all other arts and sciences, were imperfect and rude. Herodotus, and after him Strabo observed, that it was a general custom among the Babylonians, to expose their sick persons to the view of passengers, that they might learn from them whether they had been afflicted with *their* distempers, and by what remedies they had been cured. Hence many have

have asserted, that physic is a conjectural and experimental science, entirely resulting from observations made on the nature of different maladies, and on those things which are favourable or prejudicial to health. Experience, we must own, is of great importance; but it is not alone sufficient. The famous Hippocrates did not confine himself to experience; though it was of great service to him in his practice. In his time, all who had been sick and cured, consecrated to Æsculapius, in his temple, a picture, in which they specified the remedies that had restored them to health. That celebrated physician copied their memoirs, which were of great advantage to him.

Physic, in the time of the Trojan war, was in great use and esteem. Æsculapius, who lived in those days, is supposed to have been the inventor of the art, in which, however, he made considerable improvements, by his great skill in botany, medicine, and surgery: for in those days these several sciences were all united under the denomination of physic.

The two sons of Esculapius, Podalirius and Machaon, who commanded a part of the forces at the siege of Troy, were both excellent physicians and brave officers, and did as much service to the army in their physical, as in their military capacity. Nor did Achilles, in after times, nor Alexander, think the knowledge of physic useless to a general, or beneath his dignity; the former had learned it of Chiron the Centaur, and had taught it to his

friend Patroclus, who, in Homer, practises the art, and heals the wound of Eurypilus.

That wound he healed by the application of a certain root, which immediately assuaged the pain, and stopped the bleeding. Botany, or that part of physic which treats of herbs and plants, was very much known, and almost the only branch of the art that was used in early times. Virgil, speaking of a celebrated physician, who was instructed in his art by Apollo himself, seems to confine that profession to the knowledge of simples:—

*Scire potestates herbarum, usumque medendi
Maluit*—

Nature herself pointed out to mankind those innocent and salutary medicines; she seemed to invite us to make use of them. Gardens, fields, and woods supplied the curer of diseases in great abundance and variety. Minerals, treacles, and other compositions were not yet used; these were afterwards invented by a closer and more elaborate study of Nature.

Pliny says, that physic, which Æsculapius had brought into great reputation about the time of the Trojan war, was soon after neglected and lost, and lay buried in darkness till the time of the Peloponnesian war, when it was revived by Hippocrates, and restored to its ancient honour. This may be true with respect to Greece, but in Persia we find that it was always cultivated, and held in great reputation. Cyrus the great, as Xenophon remarks,

marks, always took with him to the army a certain number of excellent physicians, whom he liberally rewarded, and whom he greatly respected: and he further observes, that this was a custom established of old among the Persian generals, and that Cyrus the younger acted in the same manner.

It must yet be acknowledged, that it was Hippocrates who made the greatest improvements in this science; and though time, since his age, hath produced many physical discoveries, the ablest judges are still of opinion, that he was the first master in the art; and that his writings should be principally studied by those who are ambitious to excel in the medical profession. *Ibid. p. 546. et seq.*

4^o.

Of astronomy.

Though the Greeks were ambitious to be thought the inventors of all the arts and sciences, they could never dispute with the Babylonians the honour of having laid the foundations of astronomy. The advantageous situation of Babylon, which was built upon an extensive plain, where the sight was not bounded by one mountain; the serenity of the atmosphere in that country, which was extremely favourable to the contemplation of the stars; perhaps likewise the extraordinary height of the tower of Babel, which seemed to have been intended for an observatory;—all these circumstances invited this people

carefully to observe the various courses of the heavenly bodies. The Abbé Renaudot, in a dissertation on the sphere, remarks, that the plain which in scripture is called *Shinar*, and on which Babylon was built, is the plain which the Arabians call *Sinjar*, where, by the order of the Calif Almamon, the seventh of the Habbasides, under whom the sciences began to flourish among the Arabians, astronomical observations were made, which for several ages directed the studies of all the astronomers in Europe; and that more observations of the same kind were made in the same place three hundred years after, in the reign of the Sultan Gelaleddin Melickschah, the third of the Seljakides. From these facts it appears, that the plain of Babylon was the properest situation in the world for the eye of the astronomer.

The Babylonians could not carry their observations far, as they were not assisted with telescopes, which are of modern invention, and by the help of which, astronomy has of late years been greatly improved. Whatever the observations of the Babylonians were, they have not come down to us. Epigenes, a very reputable author, as we are told by Pliny, speaks of observations made during the space of seven hundred and twenty years; and imprinted on squares of brick; they must therefore have commenced in a very remote antiquity. Those which are mentioned by Callisthenes, one of Alexander's philosophers, and of which the said Callisthenes gave an ac-

count to Aristotle, comprehended one thousand nine hundred and three years: consequently the first of them must have been made near the time of the deluge, and of the building of Babylon by Nimrod.

We should certainly pay the just tribute of gratitude and praise to the memories of those who invented and have improved this useful science, which is not only of great service to agriculture and navigation, by the knowledge it gives us of the course of the stars, and of the uniform and astonishing proportion of days, months, seasons, and years; but it likewise greatly promotes the first of human objects, religion; with which, as Plato observes, it is closely and necessarily connected; for it directly tends to inspire us with a great veneration of the Deity who governs the universe with infinite wisdom, and who is present and attentive to all our actions. But at the same time we must lament the misfortune of those philosophers whom astronomy brought near to the Deity, and yet they found him not; because they did not properly serve and adore him; because they did not form their actions by the rules of that divine model.

Ibid. p. 548. et seq.

5°.

Of judicial astrology.

As to the Babylonian and other eastern philosophers, they were so far from being led to the knowledge of the Supreme Being

by the study of astronomy (which one would think would have been its natural consequence), that it sunk them into all the absurdity and impiety of judicial astrology. So that false and presumptuous science is termed, which pretends to judge of futurity by the knowledge of the stars ; to foretell events by the situation of the planets, and by their different aspects ;—a science, which was justly deemed extravagance and delirium by the most sensible writers of the pagan world.—*O delirationem incredibilem!* exclaims Cicero, where he refutes the folly of those astrologers (often called Chaldeans, from the country to which their science owed its birth), who, in consequence of the observations made, as they affirmed, by their predecessors, on all past events ; only for the space of four hundred and seventy thousand years ; pretended to know assuredly, by the aspect and combination of the stars and planets at the instant of a child's birth, what would be the constitution of his body ; his genius, manners, actions, character ;—in a word, all the events of his life, and its duration. Cicero exposes many absurdities of this ridiculous art ; and asks why, of the great number of children that are born in the same moment, and therefore exactly under the aspect of the same stars, there are not two whose lives and fortunes are similar. He further asks, whether all the men who at the battle of Cannæ died the same kind of death, were born under the same constellations ?

It is hardly credible that so absurd an art, founded entirely on fraud and imposture, should have acquired so much credit throughout the world, and in all ages. To the natural curiosity of man, says Pliny, to his desire of knowing what is to befall him, this art owes all its prevalence; though part of its influence may perhaps be attributed to the superstitious credulity of mankind, who are extremely delighted with the magnificent promises of which these fortune-tellers are never parsimonious.

Modern writers, and among others two of our greatest philosophers, Gassendi and Rohault, have inveighed with great strength of argument against this pretended science, and have demonstrated that it is equally unsupported by principles and experience.

1^o. Of principles.—The heaven, according to the astrologers, is divided into twelve equal parts. This division corresponds not with the poles of the world, but with those of the zodiac. The twelve parts of heaven have each its attribute, as riches, knowledge, parentage, &c. The most important and decisive part is that which is nearest the horizon; because it is ascending and appearing above the horizon when a person comes into the world. The planets are divided into favourable, malignant, and mixed; the aspects of the planets, which are only their distances from one another, are likewise fortunate or adverse. I shall pass over many other hypotheses, all equally arbitrary; and I shall ask a sensible

sensible man, if he can admit them on the bare word of an impostor, without any proof, nay without even a shadow of probability? The natal moment is the critical one, that on which all their predictions depend. But why not the moment of conception? Why do not the stars at all influence the destiny of the child, during the nine months of its mother's pregnancy? Can the astrologer, when we consider with what incredible rapidity the heavens move, ever be sure that he hath seized the exact and decisive moment, that he has not mistaken a point of time too soon or too late, for the true one? And would not that mistake render all his other predictions false?—Many such questions might be urged.

2°. They can yet less boast that their science is supported by experience. Their experience could only result from their having observed that certain events always fell out when the planets were in a certain situation. Now all astronomers agree, that many thousands of years must elapse before the stars can be twice in the same relative situation; it is indisputably true, that the aspect of heaven to-morrow will be different from any aspect it has had since the creation of the world. The reader may consult the two philosophers I have mentioned, especially Gassendi, who treats the subject more minutely than the other; and he will be thoroughly convinced that judicial astrology has no solid foundation.

God,

God, who alone penetrates futurity, because he disposes its events with an uncontrollable power, often in his oracles exposes the ignorance of the celebrated Babylonian astrologers, whom he treats as fabricators of lies; and he defies all the false gods to foretell events, promising that if they did, they should participate his worship. He enumerates to the city of Babylon all the miseries with which she shall be overwhelmed above two hundred years after his prediction; he tells her, that none of her prognosticators who had flattered her with the assurances of a perpetual grandeur, which they pretended to have read in the stars, should be able to avert the judgment, or even to foresee the time of its accomplishment. Indeed, how should they? since at the very time of its execution, when Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, saw a hand come out of the wall, and write on it unknown characters, the Magi, Chaldeans, Augurs, in a word, all the pretended sages of the country, could not even read the writing? Here then we see astrology and magic convicted of ignorance and blindness, in the very place where they were most in repute, and when it was certainly their interest to display their science, and all their power.

Ibid. p. 550. et seq.

ARTICLE IV.

Of religion.

The most ancient and prevailing idolatry was that which adored the Sun and Moon. This idolatry was founded on a mistaken gratitude, which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopped short at the veil which at once concealed and discovered him. With the least reflection it might have distinguished the sovereign who commanded, from the minister who obeyed.

In all ages mankind have been convinced of the necessity of an intercourse between God and man; and adoration supposes, that the Deity is both attentive to human desires, and able to fulfill them. But the distance of the sun and moon is an obstacle to this intercourse. Weak man endeavoured in some degree to remove this impediment, by putting his hand to his mouth, and then raising it towards those false deities. He implied by that act, that he wished to be united to them. Job congratulates himself on having abstained from this custom, which was practised over all the East.—Chap. xxxi. ver. 26, 27.—“ If “ I beheld the sun when it shined, or the “ moon walking in brightness; and my heart “ hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth “ hath kissed my hand.”

The Persians adored the sun, and particularly the rising sun, with the profoundest veneration. To him they consecrated a magnificent

nificent chariot, with the finest horses they could purchase. They sometimes sacrificed oxen to him. The name of this god among the Persians was Mithra.

By a natural consequence of their adoration of the sun, they likewise paid a particular veneration to fire; always invoked it first at their sacrifices, carried it with great respect before the king, in all his marches, intrusted the keeping of their sacred fire, which, as they pretended, came down from heaven, to none but the Magi; and would have looked upon it as the greatest of misfortunes, if they had let it go out. History informs us, that the emperor Heraclius, in his war with the Persians, demolished several of their temples, and among the rest, the chapel, in which the sacred fire had been preserved till his time, which occasioned great affliction and mourning through the whole country. The Persians likewise honoured the Water, the Earth, and the Winds, as so many deities.

The cruel ceremony of burning their children was undoubtedly a consequence of the adoration which they paid to fire: for that element was worshipped both by the Persians and Babylonians. The scripture accuses the people of Mesopotamia, from whom the Samaritans were a colony, of this barbarous custom. We know that it prevailed in many provinces of Asia.

Besides these, the Persians had two deities, whose dispensations were of opposite kinds. The name of the one was Oromasdes, and that

that of the other Arimanius. The former they deemed the author of all the blessings, the latter the cause of all the evils of life:

They neither erected statues, nor temples, nor altars to their gods; they offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on mountains or hills. Cyrus, when he made his pompous procession, sacrificed to the gods in the field.

It is supposed that Cyrus, the Persian king, burned all the temples of Greece, by the advice and request of the Magi, who deemed it injurious to the Supreme Being to inclose him with walls, *him* to whom all things are open, and whose mansion or temple is the universe.

Cicero thinks, that the custom of the Greeks and Romans in erecting temples to the gods in their cities, was more sage, and more productive of piety. For it implied, that the gods dwelt among men; and therefore it impressed on the minds of the people more religious veneration. St. Austin hath preserved a passage of Varro, in which that author differs from the opinion of Cicero.— After having observed that the Romans had worshipped their gods without statues for above a hundred and seventy years, he adds, that if they had still preserved that ancient custom, their religion would have been freer from corruption.—“*Quod si adhuc mansisset,* “*castius Diū observarentur.*”— And he strengthens his opinion by citing the example of the Jewish nation.

The laws of Persia suffered no man to confine the motive of his sacrifice to private interest. This prohibition was admirably calculated to attach individuals to the public good. It taught a citizen to sacrifice, not merely with a view to his own prosperity, but to that of the king and of the state; in which objects *himself* and all the other members of the community were included.

The Magi, in Persia, were the guardians of all religious ceremonies; and to them the people applied for instruction in those ceremonies; and to know to what gods, on what days, and in what manner they should offer sacrifices. As the Magi were all of one tribe; and as none but the son of a priest could claim the honour of the priesthood, they kept all their learning, in religion and policy, to themselves and their families; nor was it lawful for them to instruct any stranger in those matters without the king's permission, which was granted in favour of Themistocles, from the prince's great regard for that distinguished person, as it is remarked by Plutarch.

This study and knowledge of religion, which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the Magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner, gave the Magi great authority both with the prince and people, who could offer no sacrifice without their presence and ministration. Before a Persian king ascended the throne, he was indispensably obliged to receive instructions from

from the Magi; to learn from them both the science of government, and of the worship of the gods. Nor did he, when he swayed the sceptre, determine any important affair without previously taking their opinion and advice;—and we are told by Pliny, that even in his time they were looked upon in all the eastern countries as the masters and directors of princes, and of those who styled themselves “The Kings of Kings.”

They were the sages, the literati, the philosophers of Persia; as the Gymnosophists were in India, and the Druids in Gaul. Their great reputation drew to Persia from the remotest countries, those who were desirous of being instructed in philosophy and religion: and we know that Pythagoras owed to his conversation with them those principles by which he acquired so much respect and veneration in Greece; excepting the metempsychosis, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted the ancient doctrine of the Magi concerning the immortality of the soul.

It is generally agreed, that Zoroaster was the founder of this sect; but authors are of different opinions concerning the time in which he lived. What Pliny says on this subject, may reconcile their opinions, as Dr. Prideaux judiciously observes. We read in that author, that there were two persons, named Zoroaster, between whose lives there was the distance of about six hundred years. The former was the founder of the Magi, about

about the year of the world 2900; and the latter, who lived betwixt the reign of Cyrus and that of Darius Hystaspes, was the restorer of the sect.

Idolatry, throughout the eastern country, was divided into two principal sects; that of the Sabeans, who adored images; and that of the Magians, who worshipped fire. The former of these sects had its rise among the Chaldeans. Astronomy was their principal science; and they minutely studied the seven planets, which they believed were inhabited by as many divinities, who were to those orbs what the soul of man is to his body. Hence they represented Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, or the Moon, by seven statues, in which they imagined those deities were as really present as in the planets themselves. This worship was spread from Chaldea throughout the East; thence it passed into Egypt, and afterwards it was adopted by the Greeks; by whom it was propagated through all the western nations.

To the sect of the Sabeans that of the Magi was diametrically opposite, which also took its rise in the East. The Magi abhorred images, and worshipped God only in the form of fire; they deemed that element, on account of its purity, brightness, activity, subtlety, fecundity, and incorruptibility, the most perfect symbol of the Deity. They owed their origin to Persia; they were multiplied only in that country and in India; and there they

continue to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; the one the cause of all good, the other of all evil. The former was represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their proper symbols. The good being they named Yasdan, or Ormuzd; the evil one Abramian. The former is by the Greeks called Oromazdes, the latter Arimanus. Therefore when Xerxes prayed that his enemies might always be impelled by divine influence to banish their best and bravest citizens, as they had exiled Themistocles, he addressed his petition to Arimanus, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oromazdes, the author of good.

Concerning these two gods they were of different opinions: some thought that they were both eternal; others that the good deity was eternal, the other created. But they all agreed in this, that there would be a continual opposition between these two gods to the end of the world; that then the good deity should conquer the evil one, and they should each have his own world;—that the good deity should, in *his* world, be the god of all good men; and the evil one, in *his*, the god of all the wicked.

The second Zoroaster, who lived in the time of Darius, undertook to reform, in some articles, the system of the Magi; which for many ages had been the predominant religion of the Medes and Persians; but after the death of the chiefs of that sect, who usurped

the crown, and after the massacre of their adherents, it fell into great contempt. It is thought that he first taught in Ecbatana. The principal change which he made in the religion of the Magi, was, that instead of the fundamental dogma maintained before, that there were two supreme principles, the one the author of all good, whom they called Light ; the other the author of all evil, whom they named Darkness ; and that by those opposite beings the universe was made—Instead of this doctrine he inculcated the belief of an Intelligent Principle superior to the other two; *viz.* a Supreme God, the author both of light and darkness ; who, by the mixture of these two principles, made all things according to his pleasure..

But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that there was one Supreme Being, self-existent, eternal, and independent ; that under him there were two angels ; one, the Angel of Light, who is the author of all good ; the other, the Angel of Darkness, who is the author of all evil ; that these two angels, by the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that exist ; that they are perpetually at war with each other ; that when the Angel of Light is superior, good prevails over evil ; and when the Angel of Darkness is victorious, evil is predominant ; —that this conflict shall continue to the end of the world ; and that then there shall be a general resurrection, and a day of judgment, on which all shall receive a just retri-

bution for their works. That after this, the Angel of Darkness and his disciples shall be banished to their appointed place, where they shall suffer the punishment due to their crimes, in eternal obscurity ; and the Angel of Light and his disciples shall likewise go to their place, where they shall be rewarded for their good actions in eternal light ;—that the two principles and their adherents, and light and darkness shall be then separated for ever. Disciples of this sect yet remain in Persia and India ; and they adhere to all these articles of their ancient faith, without any variation.

I need not remark, that almost all these articles, though altered in many circumstances, agree in general with the doctrine of the holy scriptures ; which, it is evident, were not unknown to the two Zoroasters, who probably both conversed with the people of God ; the former in Syria, where the Israelites had been long settled ; the latter at Babylon, to which place the same people had been carried captive, and where Zoroaster might confer with Daniel himself, who was in very great credit and power at the Persian court.

Another reformation made by Zoroaster in the ancient religion of the Magi, was, the building of temples, in which the sacred fire that he pretended he had brought down from heaven himself, was carefully preserved. The priests watched it day and night, to prevent its extinction.

Ibid. p. 554. et seq.

Of the Persian manner of sacrificing according to Herodotus.

When the Persians sacrificed to the gods, they raised no altar, they lighted no fire, they made no libation ; they had no music nor garlands ; nor did they use flour ; the victim was led by the suppliant to an unpolluted place ; who with a turban on his head, and a wreath of myrtle, invoked the god to whom he was going to sacrifice. When he had cut the victim into pieces, and boiled it, he strewed upon it the cleanest and tenderest herb he could find ; trefoil was the herb commonly used on these occasions. Then one of the Magi who was present, sung an ode entitled *Theogony*, which the Persians deemed of great power to propitiate the gods. Afterwards, he who had sacrificed, took home a piece of the victim, of which he disposed as he thought proper.

HERODOT. l. i. c. 132.

Their marriages, and their manner of burying the dead.

There is nothing more horrible, nothing that gives us a stronger idea of the profound darkness into which idolatry had sunk mankind, than the public prostitution of women at Babylon, which was not only authorized by law, but even commanded by the religion of the country, on an annual festival, celebrated in honour of Venus, under the name of

Mylitta, whose temple, by this infamous ceremony, became a place of debauchery. This custom still subsisted when the Israelites were carried captive to that impious city ; the inhabitants of which are severely reprehended for it by the prophet Jeremiah.

Nor had the Persians better apprehensions of the dignity and sanctity of marriage. I do not allude to the multitude of wives and concubines with whom their kings filled their seraglios, and of whom they were as jealous as if they had *bad* but one wife, keeping them all shut up in separate apartments, under a strict guard of eunuchs, and not suffering them even to have communication with one another. It strikes one with horror to read their contempt of the common laws of nature. Incest with a sister was permitted by their laws, or at least by the Magi, those pretended sages of Persia. Neither did a father respect his daughter, nor a mother her son. We read in Plutarch, that Parysatis, the mother of Artaxerxes Mneimon, who was industrious to gratify her son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent passion for Atossa, one of his own daughters, was so far from opposing it, that she advised him to marry her. She ridiculed the laws and opinions of the Greeks, and with a shameful excess of flattery, said to her son—“ Has not God given you to the Persians to determine for them what is ingenuous and what is base, what is virtuous and what is vicious ?”

This

This horrid custom continued till the time of Alexander, who, when he became master of Persia by the defeat and death of Darius, made a law to suppress it. These enormities may convince us, that we were delivered by the gospel from the most deplorable state of Barbarism; and that human wisdom is but a weak barrier against the most detestable crimes.

I shall finish this article with a concise account of their manner of burying their dead. The Eastern nations, and particularly the Persians, did not erect funeral piles, nor did they burn their bodies. Thus we find that Cyrus, when he was at the point of death, charged his family to inter his body, to restore it to the ground.—These are his very expressions; by which he implies, that he thought his origin was from the earth, and that to her he *should* return; and the burning of the body of Amasis king of Egypt, was the last of the many indignities with which it was treated by Cambyses; for it was equally repugnant to the practice of the Egyptians and the Persians. The former incrusted their dead bodies with wax, to preserve them the longer from corruption. ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. i. p. 560.

Several particulars concerning the manners of the Persians. From Herodotus.

Like other nations, they celebrated their birth-days with profuse entertainments. On those days the rich Persians treated their

friends with whole oxen, camels, horses, and asses, roasted. But a birth-day was not fatal to large beasts among the poor ; it was celebrated by them with small animals. On other days they ate little animal food ; they had, indeed, a variety of dishes, which were not very luxurious. Hence the Persians said of the Greeks, that they rose from table with an appetite ; because after their meat they had nothing served that was worth eating :—and that if a variety of good things was set before them, they would not quit the table so soon, but would eat more. But if the Persians ate little animal food, they drank much wine. They never threw up, nor made water, but in private ;—and these customs they retained in the days of Herodotus.

They commonly deliberated on the most important affairs after drinking. But the master of the house in which the council had been held, recapitulated to them before they drank again, the opinions of the preceding day : and if in the morning, they approved the resolution they had taken, they put it in execution ; if they disapproved it, it was not followed. They likewise used to examine and determine, when they had drank, the consultations which they had held in the morning.

When they met in the street, their difference of rank was known by their salutations. If they were equals, they kissed the mouth of each other ; if one was rather inferior to the other,

other, they saluted on the cheek;—but if they were of very unequal rank, the inferior prostrated himself before his superior. They particularly respected their nearest neighbours; and others, in proportion to their vicinity to their own habitations; those who lived remote from them they held in no esteem. They deemed themselves the most virtuous and bravest nation in the world; they thought that there was virtue and courage in other countries only as they lay near Persia;—and they counted those who inhabited territories at a great distance from theirs, the most cowardly and profligate of mortals.

The Persians adopted the customs of strangers more than any other nation. They wore a vest made in the fashion of the Medes, and thought it much more elegant than their own; and they used Egyptian arms. They were extremely desirous to enjoy any pleasure they heard mentioned. Next to courage and virtue, a numerous progeny did them the greatest honour: he who was the father of many children, received annual recompences and presents from the king. From five years of age to twenty they taught their sons only three things;—to shoot, to ride, and to speak truth. A father never saw his son till he was five years old: till that time, he was under the care of women. This custom was observed among them, that if the child died before he was five years old, the grief of the father might not be severe.

The Persian laws ordered a master to estimate the merit of a servant against his faults ; and not to punish him while the former preponderated. They insisted that a legitimate father or mother had never been killed by their son ; and that whenever a thorough inquiry was made into a parricide, it was proved that it had been committed by a bastard or a supposititious son. The Persians were not suffered to mention those actions which were prohibited by their laws.

If a Persian had the leprosy, or a similar disease, he was excluded from his town, and was not suffered to have any intercourse with his countrymen ; for such maladies, they thought, were inflicted on those persons who had offended the sun. But they obliged a foreigner thus infected, to leave their country ; and for the same reason they killed all their white pigeons. They never polluted their rivers with any excrement, nor with any other offensive matter ; for they held them in particular veneration. HERODOT. b.i.c. 133. *et seq.*

ARTICLE V.

The causes of the decline of the empire of the Persians, and of the change in their manners,

When we compare the Persians before Cyrus and in the reign of that prince, with the Persians under his successors, we can hardly believe that they were the same people ; and we

we are convinced, by their fate, of a momentous truth, *viz.* that a decline of manners in a state is followed by a decline of empire.

I shall consider the four principal causes that produced a change in the Persian empire.—Magnificence and luxury carried to great excess—the extreme subjection of the people, which at length became a most deplorable state of slavery—the bad education of their princes, which was the source of all the disorders in their government—and their want of faith in the execution of their oaths and treaties.

I^o.*Of their luxury and magnificence.*

The Persian troops in the reign of Cyrus, from the temperate and hardy life to which they were inured from their infancy, were invincible. Their drink was water; their food was bread and pulse; they slept upon the ground; they habituated themselves to the severest labours; they despised the greatest dangers. The nature of their country, which was rough, woody, and inmountainous, contributed to make them robust; therefore Cyrus would never suffer them to migrate to a more genial soil. The education of the ancient Persians, which was not left to the caprice of parents, but was subject to the authority and direction of the magistrates, and regulated upon principles productive of the public

public good,—prepared them for observing at all times, and in all places, an exact and severe discipline. Add to this the influence of the prince's example, whose ambition it was to surpass all his subjects in regularity ; who was the most abstemious person in his manner of living, the plainest in his dress, the most inured to hardships and fatigues, the bravest and most intrepid in war.—What might not be expected from soldiers thus exercised and formed? — And by them Cyrus conquered a great part of the world.

After all his victories he exhorted his army and people not to degenerate from their ancient virtue, not to lose the glory they had acquired, but carefully to preserve that simplicity, temperance, and love of labour, by which it had been obtained. But perhaps (as Mr. Rollin observes) Cyrus himself, at that very time, sowed the seeds of *that* luxury that soon overspread and corrupted the whole nation. In that august ceremony, in which he first shewed himself in public to his new-conquered subjects, that he might raise their utmost respect and admiration of royalty, he displayed to them a most brilliant and dazzling magnificence. Among other articles of splendour, he changed his own dress and that of his officers ; he gave them all garments made after the fashion of the Medes, and shining with gold and purple, instead of their Persian clothes, which were extremely simple.

This

This prince had not reflected on the contagious example of a court, on the passion of mankind for brilliant and striking externals; on their eagerness to distinguish themselves from their neighbours by a contemptible pre-eminence which is acquired merely by wealth and vanity. He had not considered that this example, and this propensity infallibly corrupt the purity of ancient manners, and introduce, by degrees, a general and predominant taste for extravagance and luxury.

And this extravagance and luxury were in Persia carried to an excess that seemed the effect of madness. The prince took with him all his wives to war; and with what a train and pomp they were attended, the reader will easily imagine. The officers imitated their sovereign in proportion to their rank and ability. They pretended that the sight of the objects that were dearest to them, would stimulate them to fight with the greater resolution; but the real cause of all this retinue and pomp was, their love of pleasure, by which they were vanquished and enslaved before they engaged the enemy.

When they took the field, the splendour of their tents and chariots, and the luxury of their tables, exceeded the magnificence and sensuality of their domestic life. The most exquisite meats, the rarest and most expensive game were provided for the prince wherever he was encamped. His vessels of silver and gold were innumerable; instruments of luxury, not of victory,

victory, says a historian; they might attract and enrich, they could not repel and defeat an enemy.

I cannot see the reasons that induced Cyrus to change his conduct in the last years of his life. We must indeed allow, that the station of kings demands a suitable grandeur and magnificence, especially on extraordinary occasions. But the real and conspicuous merit of those princes who are truly great, is always an advantageous substitute for what they seem to lose by retrenching from their pomp and splendour. Cyrus himself had found by experience, that a king will gain greater and more lasting respect by a sage conduct, than by expence and profusion; and that his subjects are more firmly attached to him by confidence and affection, than by a vain admiration of superfluous magnificence.

However that was, Cyrus's last example became very contagious. A taste for extravagance and pomp spread from the court into the towns and provinces, in a little time infected the whole nation, and was one of the principal causes of the ruin of that empire which he himself had founded.

What I have here said of the fatal effects of luxury is not peculiar to the Persian empire. The most judicious historians, the most enlightened philosophers, the profoundest politicians, all lay it down as a certain and indisputable maxim, that luxury never fails to weaken and destroy the most flourishing states:

states: and the experience of all ages and nations but too clearly demonstrates the truth of their observation.

What then is this subtle poison which is concealed under the allurements of luxury and pleasure, which at once enervates the vigour of body and mind? It is easy to trace its operation and effects. Are men accustomed to a soft and voluptuous life fit to undergo the hardships and fatigues of war?—to suffer the rigour of the seasons; to endure hunger and thirst; to pass whole nights without sleep; to lead a life of continual action and exercise; to face danger; to despise death? Luxury and voluptuousness naturally and necessarily render men subject to a multitude of factitious wants, make their happiness depend upon a thousand trifling conveniences and superfluities, without which they are miserable; attach them to life by many despicable passions which annihilate the generous motives to glory, zeal for the sovereign, love of country, contempt of danger and of death:—for death would in a moment deprive them of all those objects that constitute their felicity.

Ibid. p. 563. et seq.

2°.

Of the slavery of the Persians.

We are told by Plato, that the servitude to which the Persians degenerated, was one cause of the declension of their empire. Undoubtedly

edly states owe not their security and military reputation to the number, but to the courage and vigour of their troops : and it is finely remarked by an ancient poet, that “ A man “ loses with his liberty, half of his virtue.” He is no longer interested in the prosperity of the state from which he deems himself an alien ; and having lost the principal motives of his attachment to it, he becomes indifferent to the success of public affairs, to the glory or welfare of his country, in which his circumstances allow him to claim no share, and by which his private condition cannot be improved. The reign of Cyrus was the reign of liberty. That prince never acted in an arbitrary manner ; nor did he think that a despotic power was worthy of a king, or that there was any glory in commanding slaves. His tent was always open ; he received every one who desired to speak with him. He was visible, accessible, and affable to all ; heard complaints, observed and rewarded merit ; invited to his table not only his ministers and generals, but even subalterns, and sometimes whole companies. His frugality and simplicity of life enabled him to give many entertainments. The aim of his hospitality was to animate his officers and soldiers, to inspire them with intrepidity, to attach them to his person rather than to his dignity, and to make them warmly espouse his glory, and still more the interest and prosperity of the state. This is the true art of governing and commanding ; its

its mode is gentle; but its influence is certain, strong, and decisive.

With what pleasure do we read Xenophon's account of the fine turns of wit, of the acuteness and pertinence of repartee; of the delicate raillery, of the amiable cheerfulness and gaiety that enlivened those entertainments, from which all pomp and luxury were banished, and whose principal poignancy was an easy, agreeable, and genteel freedom, which, far from weakening the respect for the prince, strengthened it with its best constituents, the affection and homage of the heart. A sovereign, by this conduct, doubles, triples the force of his army at a small expence. Thirty thousand men thus treated, are preferable to millions of such slaves as the Persians afterwards became. The truth of what I assert was evident in a decisive action. Xenophon, in his account of the battle of Thymbræa, in which Cyrus's horse fell under him, observes of what consequence it is to a general to be loved by his troops. The danger of the king was that of every soldier; and the army, in that action, performed incredible exploits.

The conduct of Cyrus was not imitated by his successors. Their only care was to support the pomp of majesty; and we must allow that their ensigns and ornaments did not a little contribute to that end. A richly embroidered and flowing purple robe, a towering turban, encircled with a magnificent dia-

dem; a golden sceptre, a superb throne, a numerous and brilliant court, a great number of guards and officers,—all these appendages made royalty splendid and striking. But did they give personal, inherent merit to the king?—How contemptible is the monarch in a political as well as in a moral light, who owes all his influence to his station and its emblems?

Some eastern kings, to make their persons more respected, kept themselves generally shut up in their palaces, and were seldom visible to their subjects. Dejoces, the first king of the Medes, at his accession to the throne, introduced this policy, which afterwards became common in all the oriental countries. But it is an error to suppose, that a prince cannot descend from royal state without injuring his dignity. Artaxerxes was not misled by this error. Plutarch informs us, that he and his queen Statira were visible and accessible to their subjects; and they were the more respected for their condescension and affability.

No subject, among the Persians, was permitted to appear before the king, without prostrating himself before him; and in the law that enjoined this abject homage, which by Seneca is justly styled *A Persian servitude, Persicam servitatem*, foreigners were likewise comprehended. We find that in later times many Greeks refused to comply with it; deeming the ceremony which it prescribed unworthy.

unworthy of men who had been born and bred in the bosom of liberty. Some, less delicate, submitted to it, though with much reluctance ; and we are told that one of them, to elude the ignominy of the servile prostration, when he approached the monarch, dropped his ring, that it might be thought he stooped to take it from the ground, and not to adore Persian majesty. But it would have been a heinous crime in a native of the country to hesitate a moment to pay a homage which his king exacted with extreme rigour.

What we read in scripture of two kings, one of whom commanded all his subjects, on pain of death, to prostrate themselves before his image; and the other, on the same penalty, suspended all acts of religion, except those that should be paid to himself;—what we likewise read of the ready and blind obedience of the Babylonians, who ran all together on the first signal to bend the knee before the idol, and to invoke the king exclusively of every other power.—All this shews the excessive pride of the eastern kings, and the abject servitude of their people.

The distance between the king and his subjects was so great, that the latter, of what rank and title soever, whether satrapæ, governors, near relations, or even brothers of the king, were deemed only slaves; while the prince was always revered as their master, their sovereign, their lord. In a word, the character and situation of the Asiatics, and

particularly of the Persians, was *servitude* and *slavery*; and hence Cicero asserts, that the despotic power which some enemies to freedom were endeavouring to establish at Rome, was a yoke which would be insupportable not only to a Roman, but even to a Persian.

It was therefore this haughtiness of the princes, and this abject submission of the people, which, according to Plato, were the principal causes of the ruin of the Persian empire, by breaking all the ties which unite kings and subjects. Arrogance extinguishes in the former, humanity and affection; and a servile disposition in the latter, courage, loyalty, and gratitude. The kings of Persia commanded with menaces, and their subjects obeyed with reluctance: this is the idea which Xerxes gives us of his government, in Herodotus; and yet that prince, in the same author, is surprised, that the Greeks, who were free, went cheerfully to battle. But they who are acquainted with the different effects which different political institutions draw from the human mind, will conclude, that no generous effort could be expected from men oppressed with slavery, which (to use the metaphorical language of Longinus) shrivels and withers the soul. *Ibid.* p. 566. *et seq.*

3°.

Of the bad education of their princes.

It is Plato, too, who remarks that the bad education of their princes, was one cause of the

the decline of the Persian empire; and in examining this article we shall find, that his observation is solid and judicious, and that the conduct of Cyrus was inexcusable.

No man ought to have been more sensible than Cyrus, that a good education is of the greatest importance to a young prince. He had experienced, in himself, all its advantages. In the fine speech which he made to his officers after the taking of Babylon, what he chiefly recommended to them as the surest means to preserve their glory, was, to educate their children according to the Persian plan of education, and to preserve, themselves, the simplicity and rectitude of Persian manners.

Would one believe, that a prince who thus thought and spoke, could have totally neglected the education of his own children? Yet of that neglect Cyrus was guilty. Forgetting that he was a father, and intent only on conquest, he left the first object of paternal care to women; *i. e.* to princesses, who had been educated in a country that was engrossed by luxury, voluptuousness, and splendour; for his queen was of Media. And to such persons the education of the young princes Cambyses and Smerdis, was entrusted. Nothing was refused them; all their desires were anticipated. The leading rule in the treatment of *them* was, never to dispute with them, never to contradict them, never to check them with reproof or expostulation. In their presence, people spoke not, but to praise all their words

and actions. Before *them* all was reverence and prostration : and it was thought essential to their greatness, to place them and mankind at an infinite distance, as if they had been of different species. Of all these particulars we are informed by Plato; for Xenophon, probably to spare his hero, says nothing of the manner in which those princes were brought up; though he gives us an ample account of the education of their father.

It is most of all surprising, that Cyrus did not take his sons with him to his last campaigns, to remove them from an effeminate and dissolute court, and to teach them the art of war, which they then must have been old enough to learn. Perhaps he had intended to take them with him; but was over-ruled by the women,

However *that* was, the education of those princes produced its natural effects. Cambyses came from that school with the immorality which are attributed to him by history :—a capricious, vain, haughty prince; addicted to the most shameful excesses of drunkenness and debauchery; so superstitious and inhuman, as from his confidence in a dream, to murder his brother ;—in short, a savage, a madman, who, by his ill-conduct, brought the empire to the brink of destruction.

His father, says Plato, left him, at his death, many extensive provinces, immense riches, and innumerable forces by sea and land;

land; but he had not insured them to him by fortifying his mind with philosophy; he had not taught him the right use of power.

The same author makes similar reflections on Darius and Xerxes. The former, as he was not the son of a king, had not received the feminine education of a Persian prince. He ascended the throne with a love of application, produced and confirmed by industry, with a mind chastised by moderation, with a courage which was almost equal to that of Cyrus; and by which he added to the empire almost as many provinces as the other had conquered. But he was not a more provident father than Cyrus; he was not warned by his fault in neglecting the education of his children. Hence his son Xerxes was almost a second Cambyses.

From all this misconduct, Plato, after having shewn us the many rocks on which wealth and grandeur almost inevitably split, concludes, that one principal cause of the declension and ruin of the empire of the Persians was the bad education of their princes; because their conduct was adopted by all their successors, under whom the empire degenerated, and languished more and more; for their luxury at length knew no bounds.

Ibid. p. 570. et seq.

4°. In this short sketch
of their history, we will speak
Of their breach of faith.

We are informed by Xenophon, that one of the causes both of the great corruption of manners among the Persians, and of the destruction of their empire, was their want of public faith. "Formerly," says he, "the king and his governors thought it their indispensable duty to keep their word, and religiously to fulfil all treaties which they had ratified with the solemnity of an oath; even with those who had rendered themselves unworthy of that generous treatment by their insincerity. And by that sage conduct, by that true policy, they gained the full confidence both of their own subjects, and of all their neighbours and allies."

This is a great encomium on the Persians, and it is undoubtedly due to the reign of Cyrus the Great. Though Xenophon applies it likewise to the younger Cyrus, who, he says, made it one of his ruling principles, never to violate his faith, however it was given, nor upon any pretence. These princes had a true idea of royalty; they justly thought, that if truth and probity were banished from the rest of the world, they should find an asylum in the court of a king, who, as he is the center, the combining power by which a society coheres, should also be the patron and avenger of integrity, which, in all societies, is essential to their welfare, to their subsistence.

These

These sentiments, so noble, so worthy of a man born to sovereignty, did not last long. They were soon succeeded by a false prudence, by an artificial policy.—“The leading men at court (says Xenophon), who in better times were those who were most distinguished for their good sense and honour, are now those pretended zealous servants of the king, who sacrifice every thing to his humour and mistaken interest; who think falsehood, deceit, and perjury, the shortest and surest means to effect his plans and enterprises; who deem a scrupulous attachment to his engagements a mark of weakness and timidity;—who think him, in short, unqualified for government, if he does not, in certain exigencies, prefer dishonest reasons of state to the exact observation of treaties, however solemnly and sacredly they were concluded.”

“The Asiatic nations,” continues Xenophon, “soon imitated their prince, who became their example and master in perfidy. They soon abandoned themselves to injustice, violence, and impiety; and from this profligacy arose their contempt of their kings. It was the natural degeneracy to which licentious men are at length debased; or it was the just punishment inflicted by Heaven on daring criminals, who spurned the sacred and awful objects of religion.”

Ibid. p. 572. et seq.

OF THE PEUCINI.

It is not clear from Tacitus, whether the Peucini were Germans or Sarmatians. The Peucini, however, who, by some authors are called the Bastarnæ, spoke the language of the Germans; their dress and houses likewise resembled theirs; like them they were not vagrants, but led a settled life. In process of time their chiefs intermarried with the Sarmatians, and adopted part of their dress, which was not so becoming as their own.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 46.

THE PHENICIANS.

The Phenicians were very famous, as a trading people. They engrossed the commerce of the West, to which the Mediterranean sea was their avenue, to the great prejudice of the Egyptians. We need not wonder therefore, that the Greek and Roman authors, without mentioning the trade of Egypt, have celebrated that of the Phenicians—that according to Herodotus, *they* conveyed to different countries the merchandize of Egypt and Assyria; and that the invention of navigation and commerce is generally ascribed to *them*; though in fact that glory is due to the Egyptians. However, in ancient commerce the Phenicians were undoubtedly most eminent; and their example is the strongest proof that

by

by commercial success a nation may acquire great wealth, power, and glory.

The Phenicians inhabited but a narrow tract along the sea coast ; and the soil of Tyre was barren : but if it had been extremely fertile, it could not have supported the great number of inhabitants who were invited to it by the prosperity of its commerce.

Two advantages made amends to them for this want. They had excellent ports on the coasts of their little territories ; that of their capital was particularly commodious : and they had so happy a genius for commerce, that they were deemed the inventors of maritime trade, especially of that which is carried on by long voyages.

The Phenicians availed themselves so effectually of these advantages, that they soon made themselves masters of commerce, and of the sea. As Libanus and other neighbouring mountains furnished them with excellent wood for the construction of their vessels ; they soon had large fleets of merchant-ships, which ventured on new voyages to extend and establish their commerce. They did not confine their navigation to the coasts and ports of the Mediterranean sea ; they entered the Atlantic by the Straits of Cadiz, or Gibraltar, and sailed, on that ocean, to different quarters. As they soon multiplied to an incredible number, by the many strangers whom a desire and prospect of gain drew to their city, they sent at different times part of their inhabitants

bitants abroad ; and among the rest the famous colony of Carthage, which retained the commercial spirit of the Phenicians, and by that characteristic grew as famous as Tyre itself, which it far exceeded in the extent of its dominion, and in the glory of its military expeditions.

The city of Tyre by her navigation and commerce had acquired so much power and glory, that we should pronounce the encomiums bestowed upon her by profane authors hyperbolical, did not the prophets speak of her even in higher terms than they.—“Tyre,” (says Ezekiel, to give us some idea of her power) is a stately ship.—They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir : they have taken cedar from Lebanon to make masts for thee : of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars.—Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sails, Blue and purple from the Isles of Elisha was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were thy mariners : they of Persia, and of Lydia, and of Libya, were in thine army; thy men of war: the wise men, O Tyre, that were in thee, were thy pilots,” &c. The prophet, by this figurative language, intends to display to us the power of this city; but he shews us its strength in more striking terms, by his enumeration of the states that shared its commerce. The produce and manufactures of

the

the whole world seemed to have been collected at Tyre; of whom other states were rather the tributaries than the allies.

The Phenicians were the only nation who for a long time carried on a trade with Great Britain. They imported tin from the islands which were called by the ancients Cassiterides. They were so jealous of this monopoly, that a Phenician pilot, as we are told by Strabo, observing that he was followed by a Roman vessel, the master of which wanted to discover the way to the Cassiterides, changed his course, drew after him the too curious Roman, and ran designedly a-ground on a flat with which he was well acquainted; where the Roman perished. The provident, though adventurous Phenician, had prepared for his safety; and on his return home, he was indemnified by the state for the loss which he had sustained by his voluntary shipwreck.—ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. v. p. 513, 514.—CREV. HIST. DES EMP. tom. ii. p. 142.

THE RHIZOPHAGI.

The Rhizophagi inhabited that part of Ethiopia which lies above Egypt, and which is near the river Asa. These barbarians dug up the roots of reeds, and washed them thoroughly. When they were quite clean, they beat them between stones, till they reduced them to a glutinous and shining mass. This mass they made into cakes about as broad as the

the palm of the hand, which they baked in the sun. This was their only food, and they always had it in abundance.

They lived in peace among themselves ; but they waged war with lions. For those beasts, leaving the dry and burning deserts in great numbers, came sometimes into the country of the Rhizophagi, to seek for shade, or to hunt the weaker animals. It often happened that the Rhizophagi, when they had left their marshy ground, were surprised and devoured by the lions ; for as they knew not the use of arms, they could not resist them. This nation must have been totally destroyed by those dreadful assailants, if nature had not been its auxiliary. The dog-days, in their country, began with high winds. At that time the air was infected with innumerable flying insects, which were far stronger than any flies that we know. The men of the country escaped them, by retiring into their marshy grounds ; but the lions fled back to their deserts, frightened with the noise of the insects ; or because they could not find more prey.

DIOD. SICUL. p. III.

THE SCYTHIANS.

A general idea of the Scythian nation.

The Scythians at first possessed but a small district ; but in time they extended their territories : their valour made them masters of a vast country, and gained them the reputation of

of a very warlike people. The earliest accounts of them inform us, that they dwelt on the banks of the river Araxes, and were despised for their small number. Till one of their kings, who loved and understood war, added to his little dominions, all the mountains around Caucasus, and all the plain that reaches from the ocean to the Palus Mœotis, and to the Tanaïs.

The Scythian fables tell us, that in their country lived a daughter of the Earth, whose head and the half of her body were human; from the waist downwards, she was of the form of a serpent. Jupiter fell in love with this monster; and she bore him a son called Scythes. He acquired fame by his exploits, and left his name to the Scythian nation. Among his posterity there were two brothers of distinguished valour; the name of the one was Palus; that of the other Napès. They divided the kingdom betwixt them; and each of the brothers called his subjects after his own name—Palusians, and Napesians. Afterwards, some kings of their race, who were great warriors, extended their conquests beyond the Tanaïs as far as Thrace, and southward, even to Egypt and the Nile. After they had thus conquered great provinces to the right and left, the Scythian empire was continually augmenting in strength and power; till at length it comprehended all the countries that lie between the Eastern Ocean, the Caspian Sea, and the Palus Mœotis.

Thus

Thus the Scythians multiplied extremely; and from them sprung the Saci, the Massagetae, and many other nations. Scythia had illustrious kings, who sent forth many colonies from the countries which they had conquered. The two greatest were, the colony sent from Assyria to the country that lies betw xt Paphlagonia and Pontus: and that of the Medians, whom they settled on the banks of the Tanaïs. In the time of Diodorus they were called the Sauromatæ. This people having grown numerous, ravaged the greater part of Scythia with fire and sword, and destroyed and drove out of the country most of its inhabitants. In this desolation, the royal family, and the sovereignty itself were extinguished; and the throne of Scythia was afterwards filled by valiant women. For the Scythian women went to war as well as the men, and were equal to them in courage. Hence there were not only famous women among the Scythians, but likewise among the neighbouring nations. Cyrus, king of Persia, who was the most powerful monarch of his time; having invaded Scythia, was conquered and taken prisoner by the queen of that country, and by her command was put to death on a cross. The Amazons, who were so renowned for their valour, were natives of Scythia.

The historians, in the accounts which they give us of the manners and character of the Scythians, contradict one another. Some represent

present them as the most just and humane people in the world; by the description of others they were barbarians, fierce, and most horridly cruel. These different pictures we must undoubtedly apply to different nations, which were spread over the vast tracts of the North; and of which, though they were often comprehended under one general name, we should form distinct ideas.

The gods of the Scythians.

The Scythians sacrificed to the following deities—with particular veneration, to Vesta, Jupiter, and the Earth, who, in their mythology, was the wife of Jupiter. Their other gods were, Apollo, Venus, Urania, Mars, and Hercules; for to *them* divine honours were paid by all the Scythians. The Scythians who had the epithet *royal*, sacrificed likewise to Neptune. In their language Vesta was called Tabiti;—Jupiter, Papæus; Earth, Apia; Apollo, Ætosyruſ; Venus Urania, Artimposa; and Neptune, Thamimafades. HEROD. lib. iv. c. 59.

Their manner of sacrificing.

All the Scythians offered their sacrifices in the following manner. The victim was presented with its fore-feet tied together. He who offered it, stood behind, took off his turban, and struck the beast, and as it fell, he invoked the god to whom it was sacrificed.

After these cérémonies, he put a cord about its neck, which he tightened with a stick; and thus he strangled the victim, without a sacrificial fire, without prayers, and without libations. When he had strangled and skinned it, he prepared to dress it. But as there was little wood in Scythia, the Scythians dressed their meat in the following manner. After they had flayed the victim, they cut the flesh from the bones, and put it into their caldrons, which exactly resembled Lesbian cups, except that they were much larger. The bones were then set on fire under the caldrons, to boil the victim. But if they had no caldrons, they put into the belly of the victim all its flesh, with water, and burned its bones. Thus, as the belly of the animal easily contained the flesh, when it was cut from the bones, the body of an ox, or of any other animal supplied the sacrifices with fuel, and a vessel to boil it. When the flesh was boiled, he who immolated, made his offering of the flesh and of the intestines, by throwing them before him. They offered various animals, but chiefly horses; they sacrificed to all their deities in the manner I have related, excepting Mars, to whom, in conformity with ancient custom, they thus constructed a temple in every province.

Of faggots of the most combustible wood, they made a square, the sides of which were three stadia; but it was not so high. Above they made a platform, three sides of which

were

were abrupt and inaccessible ; the fourth side was made sloping, that it might be ascended. A hundred and fifty waggon-loads of faggots were brought every year to repair the temple, which was often injured by the inclemencies of the weather. On this platform was fixed perpendicularly an old sword, which was their only representation of Mars. Sacrifices of various animals, but especially of horses, were annually offered to this old sword ; and it was honoured with more victims than all their other deities. They likewise sacrificed to Mars the hundredth part of all their prisoners of war ; but with ceremonies different from those with which they sacrificed the animals ; for after they had made a libation of wine on the head of the human victim, they cut his throat over a vessel which they carried up to the platform, and poured all the blood which it contained on the sacred sword. Such was the ceremony on the top of the temple. The following were the ceremonies which they performed below. They cut off the right hand, and the right shoulder of all the prisoners whom they had immolated, and threw them up into the air : the hand remained where it fell ; the shoulder they disposed of differently. When they had performed all their ceremonies they retired. These were their modes of sacrificing. They had such an abhorrence of swine, that none in their country were suffered to feed those animals.—

Ibid. c. 60. et seq.

The horrid cruelty of the Scythians in time of war.

They observed the following customs in their wars. The Scythians drank the blood of the first enemy they took, and presented to their king the heads of all those whom they had slain in a battle; for if they brought the heads to him, all the booty was their own; but they who omitted that ceremony, or could not discharge it, were not intitled to the least share in the spoils of war. To scalp those heads, they cut through the skin circularly, almost in a line with the tip of the ear; the circle being made, they shook the head; holding it by the hair of the crown, and then pulled off the skin. They tanned the scalp, and used it as a towel; they tied it to their horse's bridle; it was their most honourable trophy; for the valour of a Scythian was estimated according to the number they had of these towels.

Many Scythians sewed together the skins of men instead of those of beasts, and wore them for clothes. Others flayed with their nails, the right arms of the enemies they had slain, and covered their quivers with them: for the human skin is thick, and more white and shining than that of any animal. Others made housing for their horses of the skins of their enemies. These were some of their ancient and established customs. Scalping,

ing, however, they did not practise indiscriminately. They only flayed the heads of those enemies against whom they were most exasperated.

The poorer people cleaned the skull, and covered it with leather. The rich not only covered it with leather without, but likewise gilt it within; and both used it for a cup. They used the skull of a friend in the same manner, if they had quarrelled with him, and had vanquished him in the presence of the king. When they were visited by respectable strangers, they shewed them those skulls. They related to them the unfriendly treatment which they had received from the persons whose skulls they showed — and the particulars of the combat and victory, which they deemed the greatest glory of their life.

Every governour of a province made an annual feast, at which he presented a cup of wine to each man who had killed his enemy. This mark of respect he did not shew to those who had not distinguished themselves by some exploit. They sat apart unnoticed; and were therefore deemed ignominious. But they who had slain many enemies drank at once out of two cups. *Ibid. c. 64. et seq.*

The Scythian diviners.

In this nation there were many soothsayers, who performed their divinations with rods of willow. They brought to a certain place many faggots of these rods, which they laid on

the ground and untied. While they separated, and bundled them up again, they predicted.

When the king of Scythia was sick, he sent for three of the most famous diviners, who commonly asserted, that one of his subjects, whom they named, had sworn by the royal throne, and had perjured himself; for the most solemn oath in Scythia was to swear by the royal throne. The person whom they accused of perjury was immediately brought before the king; and they again insisted that he had perjured himself, and that his perjury was the cause of the king's malady. If he denied that he was perjured, and solemnly protested his innocence, the king sent for twice as many diviners; and if, after the usual ceremonies, *they* likewise pronounced him guilty, he was condemned to lose his head, and his effects were divided among the three first diviners. But if he was judged innocent in the second appeal, many more diviners were sent for; and if he was acquitted by the majority, the three who first accused him were condemned to die; and they suffered in the following manner.

A cart to which oxen were put, was filled with faggots and brush-wood; on those faggots these diviners were laid, with their feet chained, their hands tied behind their back, and gaggs in their mouth. Fire was then put to the faggots, and the oxen were made to go at a quick pace. Other criminals were burned with

with the diviners; and some escaped half burned, when the beam of the cart had given way by the fire. The soothsayers were burned for their lying divinations in these and many other cases; and they were called false diviners. The resentment of the king extended to the children of those whom he had capitally condemned. He put all the males to death, but pardoned the females.

Ibid. c. 67. et seq.

Alliances of the Scythians.

The Scythians made their compacts and alliances in this manner: they poured wine into a great earthen vessel, and mixed it with their blood, which they drew with a knife, or with their sword. Into this mixture they dipped their swords, their arrows, their battle-axes, and their darts. When this ceremony was over, they exhorted one another to a faithful observation of their engagement, in long harangues. The wine was then drank by the parties, and by the rest who were present;—from which ceremony none were exempted by wealth or nobility.

Ibid. c. 70.

Their ceremonies in burying their kings.

Their kings were interred at a place called Gerrha, where the Borysthenes began to be navigable. When one of their kings died, they dug a large square ditch. After this preparative, they wrapped the deceased in waxed cloth;—

cloth ; — afterwards they embowelled him ; embalmed him with Cypress-wood pulverized, with incense, the seed of parsley, and anise ; — sowed him up, laid him in a cart, and took him from province to province. The inhabitants of each province where he was received, were obliged to perform the following ceremonies, as well as the subjects of the said king. They cut off a part of their ear ; they shaved their heads ; they cut pieces out of their arms ; they made wounds on their forehead and nose ; and pierced their left hand through with an arrow. When these ceremonies were performed in one province, the body of the king, attended by all his subjects, was removed to another.

When they had thus escorted the deceased king over all his dominions, they left him with the inhabitants of Gerrha, by whom he was interred. They laid him on a bed which was prepared for him in his tomb ; around the bed they erected javelins ; deals were laid on the javelins ; and the deals were covered with a large cloth. In the remaining space of the tomb they laid one of the king's concubines, whom they first strangled ; — a cup-bearer, an equerry, a master of the household, and one of those whose office it was to make a report of public affairs to the king. There they likewise laid horses, and pieces of every kind of furniture, among which there were some vessels of gold, for they had no silver. After they had thus filled the tomb, they

they covered it with earth, which they raised to a great elevation above the surface of the ground.

A year after the sepulture they chose fifty pages of the late king's bed-chamber, who were all of the same country ; for the king took all his pages from a certain part of his dominions ; and they served him without any appointment. They strangled those fifty pages, and as many horses, which they gutted, cleaned well within, and sowed up. They then fixed in wooden niches many semicircular arches of the same substance ; on these arches they suspended the horses, which were spitted with poles from the head through the posteriors. On one arch the shoulders of each horse were supported ; on another his hinder parts ; —his legs hung in the air. They bridled these horses, and tied the bridles to stakes fixed in the ground. On each of the horses they set one of the pages whom they had strangled ; and that the body of the page might keep erect, they impaled him from the extremity of the back-bone to the head. The stake with which the page was impaled, was driven into the pole which spitted the horse. When they had ranged this cavalry around the tomb, they retired : and these were the funeral honours which the Scythians paid to their kings.

Ibid. c. 71. et seq.

The ceremonies in the interment of the Scythians.

With regard to the bodies of the other Scythians, they were conveyed in a cart to the houses of their friends, who received them with great affection, and made an entertainment for all those who accompanied them, as well relations as others. These processions, for a person of private station, lasted forty days, at the expiration of which the deceased was interred. After the Scythians had interred their dead, they purified themselves. First they purified their heads, and then their bodies, in the following manner.

They placed on the ground three blocks of wood, leaning against one another. Round those blocks they laid woollen hats; and they threw into a hole which was within the circle of hats, stones taken out of fire, and extremely hot. In their country there grew a kind of hemp, which very much resembled lint, except that it was larger. This hemp, when it grew spontaneously, or after it was sown, far exceeded the hemp of other countries. They strewed the seed of this hemp on the hot stones, and they put them under the hats, from which a most agreeable fragrance issued, far exceeding the finest perfumes of the Greeks. This odour was so exquisite that it threw the Scythians into an ecstasy. It served them instead of a bath; for they never

wetted their bodies; their women were only permitted to use liquid purifications, one of which we shall here relate — They pulverized betwixt two stones, cypress, cedar, and another fragrant wood; of this powder, with the addition of a certain liquid, they made an ointment, with which they rubbed their face, and their whole body. This ointment diffused an agreeable smell; they washed it off on the morning after they had applied it; — it heightened the bloom and lustre of their charms.

Ibid. c. 73. et seq.

The aversion of the Scythians to foreign customs.

The Scythians not only never adopted foreign customs, but in every district of Scythia, they were tenacious of the customs of their own district. That they particularly detested the customs and manners of the Greeks, we may be convinced by the fate of Anacharsis and of Scylès.

Anacharsis, who had travelled much, and in his travels had acquired great knowledge, was returning to Scythia by the Hellespont. He put into the harbour of Cyzicus, and visited the town. There he found the Cyzicenians celebrating, with great solemnity, the feast of the mother of the gods. Struck with the pomp of the ceremonies, he made a vow to the goddess, that he would sacrifice to her after the Grecian manner, on the evening after his arrival in his own country. Accordingly,

lv, on his return to Scythia, he retired into the country of Hylèa, where he privately accomplished his vow, and performed all the ceremonies in honour of the goddess, holding in his hand the timbrel before foreign images. But while he was intent on these ceremonies, he was discovered by a Scythian, who went immediately to inform the king of his impiety. The king (whose name was Saulius) repaired without delay to the place where Anacharsis was worshipping, and shot him with an arrow.

A long time after, Scylès, the son of Aripathes king of Scythia, met a like fate. As he had been habituated to Grecian customs from his infancy, he was strongly attached to them, and despised those of his own country. Having led an army towards the city of the Borysthenians, as often as he entered that city, he left his troops without: he ordered all the gates to be shut, and exchanged the Scythian for the Greek dress. In that dress he walked alone in the forum, neither attended by his guards nor by the people; but he placed guards at the gates of the city, that he might not be seen by the Scythians in his foreign habit: and among the other customs of the Greeks, he joined in their religious ceremonies. After he had continued above a month in this town, he left it and resumed the dress of the Scythians. This change he often repeated, and he had even built himself a palace, and taken a wife in the city of the Borysthenians.

But

But as he was destined to an untimely end, says Herodotus, the cause of his fate operated in an event apparently accidental. A celestial phœnomenon warned him of his impending danger, as he was going to celebrate the feast of Bacchus. In the city of the Bosphoritishenians he had built a palace as we have just related; and round the palace there were sphinxes and griffins of white marble. On this palace lightning fell, and consumed it; yet Scyles persisted in his worship, and went through all the ceremonies of the feast of Bacchus. I must observe to the reader, that the Scythians reproached the Greeks with their adoration of Bacchus; they thought it absurd and disgraceful to worship a deity who deprived men of reason, and rendered them stupid or mad. While Scyles was celebrating the feast, a Borysthenian informed the Scythians of the fact, in the following words: —“ You ridicule and despise us, O Scythians, because we celebrate the feast of Bacchus, of a god who deprives us of our reason and of our senses. But his power controls even your king; it has obliged him to join in the celebration of his feast; it has intoxicated a Scythian prince as well as us. If you believe not what I tell you, follow me, and you shall be convinced.” —The chief nobles of Scythia followed him; he conducted them privately to a tower, from which they saw Scyles with his company of Bacchanalains.—They were deeply affected with that spectacle;

spectacle; they thought it prognosticated the most dreadful calamities. On their return they acquainted the whole army with what they had seen. Scylès, after he had celebrated this feast, returned to his kingdom, where he was slain by a conspiracy of his subjects. He was succeeded by his brother Octomasades, the son of the daughter of Tyrès.

Ibid. c. 76. et seq.

*A description of the manners of the Scythians—
from Justin.*

Let us now make an agreeable transition to softer and more humane manners; though they are evidently the manners of an uncultivated people. The description which we are going to cite is Justin's.—“The Scythians,” says that author, lived in great innocence and simplicity. They knew none of our arts; but they likewise knew none of our vices. They divided not their lands: and why should they have divided ground which they did not cultivate? Horace, in one of his odes, informs us, that some of them cultivated a small piece of land; but only for one season; at the expiration of which, it was occupied by other temporary peasants. They have no houses, no fixed habitations; they are continually migrating from one tract of their country to another, with their flocks and herds. Their houses are waggons covered with skins, in which “they

“ they convey from place to place their
“ wives and children. Their conduct is al-
“ most inviolably regulated by Justice; —
“ a moral government which results from
“ the disposition of the people, not from the
“ force of law. For they are totally unac-
“ quainted with every kind of policy. Theft
“ is severely punished among them; and for
“ a strong reason. For as their cattle make
“ all their wealth, and as they are never shut
“ up, how could they retain the possession of
“ them, if theft was not severely prohibited?
“ They have no passion for silver and gold like
“ other nations. Milk and honey are their
“ principal food. They make no use of woollen
“ or richer stuffs; they wear only skins of
“ beasts to defend themselves from the rigour
“ of their climate.”

We have observed that the manners of the Scythians were the manners of an uncultivated people. They had lands but they tilled them not: they had herds and flocks; but they only availed themselves of their milk; they neither ate their flesh, nor made garments of their wool; they were only clad with skins. But their contempt of silver and gold, which are so highly valued in all polished countries, may seem the strongest proof of their ignorance and barbarism.

A happy ignorance! a barbarism infinitely preferable to our civilization!—“ Their con-
“ tempt of all the elegancies of life, continues
“ Justin, is the source of their integrity; it
“ prevents

" prevents them from coveting the possessions
" of their neighbour. For avarice can only
" exist where the use of wealth is known;
" and happy would it be for the world, says
" our author, if it abounded with that mode-
" ration, with that simplicity, and rectitude
" of manners, which constituted the charac-
" ter of the Scythians. If mankind had al-
" ways resembled them, the history of all
" ages and nations would not have been mark-
" ed with inhuman wars; fire and sword
" would not have destroyed a great part of
" our species; we should have yielded our
" lives to the gentle call of Nature."

Justin concludes his description of the Scythians with a sensible reflexion. It is very surprising, says he, that the Scythians, among whom there is no education, have derived more moderation and wisdom from a happy disposition, than the Greeks have acquired by the institutions of their law-givers, and by the precepts of their philosophers; and that the manners of a nation, which we term barbarous, should be far more amiable than those of a people cultivated and refined by the arts and sciences. Hence we may infer, that purity of life is more the privilege of those who are unacquainted with vice, than of those who study virtue.

The Scythian Fathers very justly thought, that they left their children the best inheritance in leaving them peace, unanimity, and mutual affection. One of their kings, whose name

name was Scylurus, called his sons to him on his deathbed. He gave to each of them successively a bundle of darts strongly tied together, which he desired them to break. Each used his utmost efforts to break it, but in vain. When the darts were separated, they easily broke them all. You have here seen, said their father, an emblem of concord and union. To strengthen and extend their domestic advantages they joined friendship to parentage. Friendship was by them deemed a sacred connexion, and much resembling that which Nature had constituted among brothers: they thought it never could be violated without great impiety. The poets of antiquity seem to have disputed the superiority in giving the innocence of the Scythian manners a high and picturesque eulogium.—I shall here transcribe Horace's praise of this nation. He associates the Getæ to the Scythians, of whom they were neighbours. The extract I am going to make is from the noble ode in which the poet inveighs against the luxury and licentiousness of his age. After having asserted that neither wealth nor splendour can procure tranquillity and serenity of mind, he adds—

Happy the Scythians, houseless train !
Who roll their vagrant dwellings o'er the plain !

Happy the Getæ, fierce and brave,
Whom no fixed laws of property enslave !

Succeeding yearly to the toil,
Who plow, with equal task, the public soil ;

While open stands the golden grain,
The free-born fruitage of the unbounded plains.

Not there the guiltless step-dame knows
The baleful draughts for orphans to compose ;
No wife high-portioned rules her spouse,
Nor trusts her essence'd lover's faithless vows.

The lovers there for dowry claim
The father's virtue, and the spotless fame,
Which dares not break the nuptial tie ;
Polluted crime ! whose portion is to die !

HOR. lib. iii. ode 24. FRANCIS.

When we examine, without prejudice, the manners and character of the Scythians, can we refuse them our esteem and admiration ? Did not their way of living very much resemble that of the Patriarchs, who had no fixed habitations, who were unacquainted with agriculture, who fed their flocks and herds, and dwelt in tents ? Was their situation deplorable because they knew not, or despised the use of gold and silver ? Is it not to be wished that those metals had never been dug out of the bowels of the earth, to multiply crimes ? What good could they have procured for the Scythians, who were content with supplying the natural wants of man ? It is no wonder that they, who were defended from the inclemencies of weather by the skins of wild beasts, were indifferent to the arts that were in high esteem in other nations — to architecture, sculpture, and painting ; to the elegance and splendour of dress and furniture. After all, can we assert, that those pretended

pretended advantages promote the happiness of life? Were the people of antiquity who enjoyed those arts, more vigorous and healthy than the Scythians? Did they live longer than they? were they more free? were they less subject to anxiety and disappointment? Let us honestly own they were not: let us silence the declamatory pretensions of philosophy. The Scythians, though they had no schools of wisdom, were a more truly wise people than the Egyptians, or any other cultivated nation. They gave the name of goods or possessions only to such objects as deserved those appellations, if we would speak a sensible and manly language—to health, to courage, to industry, to liberty, to integrity, to a detestation of all falsehood and fraud;—in short, to all those qualities which conciliate our love and esteem. Had they likewise known the true God, and the Mediator (and without the knowledge of *them* all their excellent properties were useless) they would have been a perfect people.

When we compare the manners of the Scythians with those of modern Europe, we are apt to suspect that the fine picture exaggerates the original, and that both Horace and Justin ascribe virtues to them of which they were not possessed. Yet all the testimonies of antiquity agree with the encomiums of these authors: and Homer, whose single suffrage is of great weight, pronounces them—“The most just
“of men.”

But an unexpected fate befel Scythia. Luxury, which we should suppose could only live in a mild and agreeable climate, penetrated into this cold and inhospitable region; and forcing the barriers which the nature of the climate, the genius of the inhabitants, and long custom had opposed to her, she corrupted the manners of the Scythians, and sunk them to a level with the other nations, whom her allurements had subdued. The remarkable degeneracy of this people is related by Strabo, who flourished in the time of Augustus and Tiberius. After having warmly praised the simplicity, the frugality, the innocence, and the integrity of the ancient Scythians, he owns, that in consequence of the intercourse which that people had with other nations in later times, those virtues had been succeeded by the contrary vices. One would have hoped, says that author, that a commerce with civilized and polished nations would have worn off their savage air, and enlightened and embellished their minds; but we find that its effects were destructive; that it ruined their innocence and independence, and transformed them, as it were, into a different species. Athenæus undoubtedly has this depravation of the Scythians in his eye, when he says, that soon after they grew attentive to interest and wealth, they were emasculated by luxury and pleasure.

Strabo, where he makes the observations which I have just quoted, acknowledges that

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the Scythians owed the corruption of their manners to their intercourse with the Greeks and Romans. Our example, says he, has corrupted almost all the nations of the world; it has introduced among them luxury, voluptuousness, perfidy, and rapacity.—To invent modes and amusements;—to refine on vice; to give the law to a considerable part of the world in the objects of moral corruption;—is the most baneful talent of a nation, and its most ignominious distinction. JUSTIN l. ii. c. 2. HORAT. l. iii. ode 24. ROLL. HIST. ANC. tom. ii. p. 126. *et seq.*

THE SIGYNES.

This people, according to Herodotus, lived beyond the Danube. The dress of the Sigynes was like that of the Medes. Their hair over all their bodies was five inches long. Their stature was low, and their noses were flat. They did not carry men; but the poor, in their country, often drew the rich in carts.

HEROD. l. v. c. 9.

THE STRUTHOPHAGI.

The Struthophagi were a people of Æthiopia: their name signifies *eaters of ostriches*. In their country there was a singular kind of bird. It was as large as a stag: its neck was very long: its sides were prominent, and had wings. Its head was long, and the construc-

tion of it was weak in proportion to the rest of its body. But it had great strength in its thighs and feet: its claws were cloven like the hoofs of horned cattle. Its flight was low, by reason of its great weight; but it ran with incredible swiftness. It defended itself against its pursuers by throwing great stones behind it with its feet, as from a sling. When there was little wind its wings were soon fatigued; and therefore it was easily taken. As there was a prodigious number of these birds in this country, and as many ways of catching them had been invented, the hunting of them proved very useful to the barbarians. They ate their flesh; and their skins served them for garments and bed-clothes. They were often at war with those Æthiopians who were distinguished by the name of Simi; and their chief weapon was the horn of the oryx [a kind of wild-goat]:—it was large, sharp, and very fit to be used in battle. As the oryx was very common in their country, they were supplied with as many horns of that animal as they wanted.

DICD. SICUL. p. 113.

THE SUEONES.

The Sueones, according to the account of Tacitus, were surrounded by the ocean. They were the ancestors of the people who are now called Swedes.

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They were powerful both by land and sea. Their ships were more conveniently constructed than those of the Romans; for they had two prows, and therefore they could put into any harbour without turning. They went only with oars; and the rowers had not fixed stations, and of equal distances. They often rowed in different parts of the vessel, as was the custom of the Romans on some rivers.

The Sueones, like other nations, were eager after wealth; and by that passion they lost their liberty. From a free state they became the slaves of a despotic sovereign. All the Sueones were not permitted, like the rest of the Germans, to wear arms. The king had a minister, who rigorously superintended their conduct. That minister was always his favourite slave. This policy was dictated by the following considerations. Their country was guarded from sudden invasions by the circumfluent ocean. It was difficult to keep soldiers in subjection who were in a state of security. The monarch would have been imprudent, if he had chosen a person of rank for his first minister: he would have been in danger if he had chosen him from among the citizens—even from among those who were only freed-men.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. 44.

THE SUEVI.

The Suevi inhabited a considerable part of Germany. They were not a single nation, like the Catti and the Tencteri, but a people composed of several nations, and comprised in the general name of Suevi; though each nation had likewise its own particular name.

The custom of twisting their hair, and making it into a knot, distinguished the Suevi from the rest of the Germans, and the free-men among the Suevi from the slaves. Some of the youth, too, among their neighbours, adopted this custom, either to shew their descent from the Suevi; or because they thought it honourable to imitate them. But the Suevi, even in their old age, drew up over the hinder part of their head, and knotted their strong and rough hair. The hair of their people of superior rank was more carefully adjusted. This was their only embellishment; an embellishment to which they were attentive, not from a frivolous and effeminate taste, but to make their stature seem greater, and to appear more terrible to their enemies.

The Semnones claimed a superiority to the rest of the Suevi in antiquity and nobleness of blood; and they founded their claim on their religion. They had a forest which had been consecrated by their ancestors, and which they held in the greatest veneration, whither, on certain days, all their nations assembled by de-

putation, to celebrate the shocking ceremonies of their barbarous worship, which began with the sacrifice of a human victim : they immolated a man. In this forest a particular grove was most revered ; which we may term the sanctuary of the sylvan temple. Into this grove people were never admitted but with their hands tied behind their backs ; which confinement characterised the humiliation of their minds before the Deity. If the suppliant fell, he was not to rise, even upon his knees ; he was to roll himself out of the grove. These superstitious rites were celebrated, to impress the Suevi with a belief that their sacred grove was the place of their origin ; the abode of the Supreme Being ;— and that all their prosperity depended on their punctual and fervent worship there. As this forest was situated in the country of the Semnones, it gave them great consequence and distinction ; and their good fortune warranted their pretensions. They possessed a hundred cantons ; and to their power, as well as to the extent of their territories, they owed their eminence and authority over the rest of the Suevi.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. C. 38, 39.

THE SYBARITES.

A compendious account of the republic of the Sybarites.

This people distinguished themselves from the other nations of antiquity by the most ignoble characteristics, those of luxury and effeminacy. Ancient authors always mention them in terms of the most humiliating contempt. The keenest reproach on the manners of an individual or of a state, was to compare them with those of the Sybarites, whose dissoluteness became proverbial. A table exquisitely luxurious and elegant, was, "The table of a Sybarite."—An affected and effeminate walk or voice, was "the walk or the voice of a Sybarite."

History has hardly deigned to transmit the names of any of the inhabitants of the ancient Sybaris. A few particulars relating to them have been preserved by Pausanias. From him we learn, that they had a treasury at Delphi near to that of the Epidamnians; that on one side of their coin was the head of Mars, with a helmet and a crown; and that on its reverse was the figure of an ox. Not a single Sybarite aspired to glory by those means which are most likely to insure it, by literature or by arms. The minds of the despicable community were totally relaxed by a constant habit of voluptuousness.

As historians have taken so little notice of this people, it will be impossible for a modern writer

writer to give a satisfactory account of their policy. However, I shall strongly exemplify their manners, by informing the reader, that they were so enslaved by the lowest of the sensual pleasures, that whoever in Sybaris invented a new and exquisite dish, had the exclusive privilege of vending it for a year. Thus the citizens of that epicurean commonwealth were encouraged by the public to excel in the most unmanly and dishonourable art.

Of the Italians, the Sybarites had the greatest esteem for the Tyrrhenians; of the Greeks, for the Ionians. The disposition and manners of those two republics resembled their own. They travelled little, but always in a carriage; and to spare their delicate constitutions, they went only as far in three days as a person of another country would have gone in one. One of the Sybarites visited the republic of Sparta: he was invited to one of the repasts which the old editors of Xenophon term *Philitia*, but which are generally called *Pheiditia*. He found that plain benches of the same form were placed for people of every order who were to eat at the frugal table. The effeminate guest was shocked with the hardness of the seats, with the frugality of the meal, and with the gravity of the conversation.—“I no longer wonder,” cried he, “that the Lacedæmonians are the bravest people upon earth: what merit is there in parting with a painful existence?”

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We are told by Strabo, in his description of Italy, that the city of Sybaris was at the distance of two hundred stadia from Crotona; that it was built by the Achæans, and that it was situated between two rivers, the Crathis and the Sybaris, from which it took its name. The Sybaris, if we credit the report of Pliny, rendered those who drank of its water more robust, and darkened their complexions; it likewise made their hair curl, and made their horses skittish. None who dwelt near the Sybaris (continues the same author) suffered their flocks or herds to taste its water; because the cattle that had drank of it, had been always seized with a violent sneezing.

Strabo likewise informs us, that the name of the person who founded Sybaris was Ise-licèus, and that he built it on the mouth of the Sybaris and the gulph of Tarentum. He adds, that it grew to such a pitch of grandeur, that it gained the sovereignty over four neighbouring nations, and twenty-five cities; that the city and its suburbs occupied a territory of fifty stadia; and that its commonwealth armed three hundred thousand men, to demand satisfaction of the Crotoniæ for receiving five hundred Sybarites who had deserted from their countrymen. The fact is thus related by Diodorus Siculus.

The Sybarites were prevailed with by Thelys, one of their generals, to proscribe five hundred of their richest citizens, and to distribute their effects among the people:

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The persons who were proscribed fled to Crotona, and betook themselves for safety to the altars which were in the Forum. Thelys being informed of the particulars of their flight, sent ambassadors to demand them : the ambassadors, if they should be refused, were commissioned to declare war against the inhabitants of Crotona. The senators of that republic assembled the people, who were afraid to hazard a war with a powerful state, and therefore were inclined to give up the exiles. But Pythagoras, the philosopher, having entered warmly into the debate, moved the compassion of the people, and prevailed with them to protect the unfortunate Sybarites.

We are told by Heraclides Ponticus, that soon after, the Sybarites vindicated their liberty from the tyranny of Thelys, and flew, even at the altars, his most active partisans ; —that the statue of Juno turned its eyes from the spectacle ; and that so great a torrent of blood flowed from her temple, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring houses were obliged to raise a wall before them to prevent inundation.

When the Sybarites were in the flower of their prosperity, they sent to the temple of Delphi, to consult the oracle on the duration of their good fortune. One of their deputies was Isamyris, Amyris, or Thamyris. The priestess informed them that their power should last as long as their reverence of the gods

gods was not infringed by their homage to men. The answer was received with universal satisfaction ; it seemed to promise an eternal duration of success. For how was it to be supposed that men, while they continued reasonable beings, would be so extremely impious as to prefer *human* nature to the *divine*? Perhaps they were deceived by their interpretation of the oracle ; perhaps they concluded, that it could not be accomplished till the whole nation became thus corrupt and sacrilegiously wicked. They could not suppose, that the crime of an individual would be revenged by the ruin of the state. Thamyris alone comprehended the sense of the oracle : he was struck with it ; it engrossed his mind. A Sybarite provoked by one of his slaves, had pursued him into a temple, where he beat him severely, forgetting the sacred asylum to which he had fled. The unhappy victim of ungoverned indignation bethought himself of another refuge ; he laid himself on the tomb of his master's father. His presence of mind succeeded ; his master revered the ashes of his parent, and ceased to beat him. Thamyris reflected with horror on this event : he sold all that he possessed at Sybaris, and left his country. The Sybarites thought his conduct that of an insane person ; “ Thamyris is “ mad,” — became a proverb among them. We shall see hereafter whether the proverb was well-grounded.

Athenæus, among the other impious actions of the Sybarites to which he thinks the oracle alluded, relates their treatment of thirty ambassadors from Crotona, whom they massacred, and whose bodies they threw from their ramparts into the ditch, where they were devoured by beasts. He adds, that on the night immediately following the massacre, the goddess Juno appeared in the Forum of Sybaris to all the magistrates, expressing the greatest agony of heart for the fate of the unhappy men, and the severest indignation against the perpetrators of so barbarous an action.

Celestial indignation was soon followed by punishment. Milo, the famous wrestler, in whom the most intrepid valour and extraordinary bodily strength were united, was appointed general of the army of the Crotoniæ. He was not in the least intimidated by the numbers of the enemy ; he knew that the martial spirit must be very languid in a people, who would suffer no cocks to be kept in their city, nor any noisy occupation to be followed, lest their sleep should be interrupted. What, indeed, was to be feared from an indolent and delicate nation, who never appeared at the rising or setting of the sun ; either because the air of Sybaris, which was situated between two rivers, and near the sea, was too sharp for them in the morning and evening ;—or because their nocturnal excesses obliged them to expend much time on sleep and inaction.

Notwithstanding Milo's great advantages over his enemies, he sent spies to Sybaris: For he had some dread to remove from the minds of his countrymen, with which they had been impressed by the numerous forces of the Sybarites, and by the idea of their great power. The spies of Milo went to the public entertainments of the Sybarites; where, amongst other novelties, they observed horses which were trained to music, and at the sound of instruments, but particularly of certain tunes, reared on their hinder feet, and formed a sort of dance.

The armies were ranged in order of battle. But history gives us not a particular account of their disposition; it does not inform us whether the Sybarites were drawn up on a plain large enough to allow three hundred thousand men to act;—nor whether Milo, who had been six times victorious at the Olympic games, and who, crowned with six laurels, headed a hundred thousand Crotoniatæ, among the other proofs of his experience as a general, made the front of his army as large as that of the enemy, and by that precaution prevented their superior numbers from surrounding him.

Five thousand horses, which the Sybarites had trained to music, and whose riders were armed with cuirasses bordered with fringe (armour fitter for pomp than warlike use), were in the van of their army. Milo having given orders that no quarter should be given

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to the Sybarites, either in the engagement or in the persuit, the charge was founded. Milo's band of music then played the airs to which the horses had been accustomed to dance. Those animals, as unwarlike as their masters, fired with their favourite tunes, rushed from their ranks, and galloped towards the army of the Crotoniates. Milo availed himself of the disorder which they occasioned, attacked, and defeated the Sybarites; and pursued them to their capital, of which he formed the siege. He took it in ten weeks, sacked it, opened sluices from the Sybaris and the Crathis, and deluged its ruins with their waters.—MEM. DES L'ACAD. DES INSCR. ET BELL. LET. tom. ix. p. 163. *et seq.*

The luxury and effeminacy of the Sybarites.

Such was the end of this republic which was notorious for its luxury and effeminacy. History hath transmitted to us an account of the wealth of one of its citizens. Clisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, who had been victorious in the chariot-races at the Olympic games, fixed a day by public notice, on which he would chuse a husband for his daughter, a princess of extraordinary beauty: he promised that all who offered themselves as matrimonial candidates should be well received, and that he would fairly examine their pretensions. Mindyrides, or Smindyrides, a Sybarite, embarked in a galley with fifty

rowers, chosen from the fishermen and fowlers who were in his service; in expence and magnificence he not only exceeded all the competitors, but even the tyrant himself; though the Sicyonians seemed to vie with each other in contributing to the grandeur of their sovereign on this important occasion. Smindyrides, on the day of his arrival at Sicyon, partook of the entertainment which Clisthenes had prepared for his guests; but the insolent Sybarite insisted that no person should sit at the same table with *him* except the princess, who was the object of his wishes. 'Tis to be regretted that history has not acquainted us with the success of his arrogance.

This presumptuous and disgusting vanity was the natural consequence of a life wasted in ignorance and effeminacy. We learn from Athenæus, that the Sybarites clothed their children in purple, and adorned their hair with ribbons interwoven with gold. But we read in no author that they used any discipline which invigorates the body or the mind. We are told that they had grottos cooled with fountains, in which their youth, during the heat of the day, gave themselves up to all kinds of debauchery;—that one of them, on seeing the laborious motions of a slave at his work, felt as great pain as if his fibres had been torn;—and that while he was describing to another young Sybarite the agony he had suffered from that excruciating

cruciating fit, the latter was seized with a violent pain in his side.

The Sybarites were the first people who took with them to battle slaves in chains. Those slaves they punished with great inhumanity, if the water with which they supplied them was too warm, or if they did not perfume them agreeably. When they came out of the bath, they threw themselves on beds strewed with roses; which beds they found uneasy as soon as the roses lost their first fragrance and softness. Little dogs of Malta, of which they were very fond, followed them to battle, and whithersoever they went.

They were likewise very fond of dwarfs, whom they called *Σκωπαιοι*. The general appellation of these men of pigmy stature was, among the ancients, *Στιλπωνες*, from the name of the philosopher *Stilpon*. They bought apes at exorbitant prices. As their merchants went often to Mauritania in quest of those animals, the king of that country, who was very fond of children, and who kept his sons and daughters in his palace, under his own eye till they were three years old, at which age they entered on a regular education, sent for the merchants, and asked them if the women in their country were barren?

Among their slaves they had a great number of eunuchs. A commerce was established between them and the Milesians. They imported the wool of Miletus, of which the

finest cloth was made that was worn by the ancients.

Athenæus tells us, that in going to their country-houses, they were shaded from the heat of the sun. But he does not inform us whether their shade was an avenue planted with trees, or a covered carriage.

Their cellars were near the sea-coast. Their wines were made as the wines of the Rhine, and those of some other climates are made. The casks are never empty; the vintage of the *present* is poured on the remainder of the vintages of the preceding years; and the wine is drawn through long copper pipes. The Sybarites conveyed their wine through these pipes, from their large casks into smaller vessels, with which their ships were furnished, that lay at the mouth of their rivers. Part of the wine the ships exported; with part of it they sailed along the coast; where the Sybarites unloaded them, and lodged it in their cellars.

Those of the Sybarites who gave the most sumptuous public entertainments, were rewarded with golden crowns, which were decreed them by the state. Their names were proclaimed with eulogium by the heralds, in their religious assemblies, and in those of their public games.

Those women who were to make part of the company at a public entertainment, were invited a year before its celebration, that they might have time to appear at the festival in all the lustre of beauty and of dress.

The fishermen and eel-merchants were exempt from all public impositions; as well as those who fished and prepared a species of oysters, of which the ancients made their purple dye. They had subterranean halls for coolness:—they had frying-pans like those of modern use.

They despised travellers; and gloried in going no farther abroad than the length of their rivers.

They certainly paid a very prompt obedience to an oracle which exhorted them to a licentious life, in a country which was not remarkably fertile, where the situation of the capital was not healthful, and where its port, which was not commodious, was rendered useless by the indolence of its inhabitants.

Modern times will hardly believe that so effeminate a people were jealous of the glory of Olympia; that Sybaris presumed to emulate the celebrated games of that city? Yet she instituted games, which were celebrated at the same time with those of Greece. Their citizens vainly imagined, that by proposing great prizes to the combatants, the world would resort to *their* games, and no longer to *those* which had been for ages the object of heroic ambition.

We have seen in what a state the Crotonians left the ancient Sybaris. In that state it remained fifty-eight years. When Callimachus was archon of Athens, its old inhabitants, and their sons, who were dispersed in diffe-

rent places, assembled, joined themselves to some Thessalians, and with their assistance attempted to rebuild their city. But after they had prosecuted their attempt for five years, it was suppressed by the jealous Crotoniæ, who again drove them from their territories. Thus was this city, the abode of sensuality, at length destroyed for ever: its luxury had been for many centuries the contempt of the universe. *Ibid.* p. 168. *et seq.*

THE SYRACUSANS.

The Syracusans were the inhabitants of Syracuse, a famous city of Sicily.

Reflections on the government of this people.

Syracuse, from its history, may be compared to a theatre on which various, interesting, and astonishing scenes are represented; or to a sea, sometimes calm and smooth, but subject to the most violent agitations. No other republic exhibits to us revolutions so sudden, so frequent, and so abrupt. Sometimes it was oppressed by cruel tyrants; sometimes it was governed by sage kings. Sometimes it was the sport of a licentious populace; sometimes it was guarded by reason, and by salutary laws. It passed alternately from the most abject servitude to perfect liberty; from convulsive and frantic motions, to a regular and wise conduct. The reader will

will easily call to mind Dionysius, the father and son, Agathocles, and Hieronymus, whose cruelty rendered them the objects of public hatred and execration: he will likewise easily remember Gelo, Dion, Timoleon, and the two Hieros, who were universally loved and respected by the people.

To what must we attribute such extremes, such opposite alternations? Without doubt they were partly produced by that levity and inconstancy which characterized the Syracusans; but their principal cause was the political constitution of Syracuse, which was a mixture of aristocracy and democracy, or of senatorial and popular power. As it had no counterpoise to bring these two bodies to a just equilibrium, when public authority inclined on one side; the state was consequently either oppressed by tyranny, or torn by licentiousness. Either excess was succeeded by universal anarchy, which facilitated to the most ambitious citizens the acquisition of sovereign power. Some, to alleviate the yoke of dominion, to gain the good will of the citizens, exercised that power with lenity, with equity, with wisdom, and conciliating manners.—Others, destitute of virtue and humanity, rendered their usurpation odious and horrible by the most violent acts of oppression and cruelty. By this rigorous conduct they pretended they were obliged to check the enterprizes of their subjects, who, it must be owned, yet retained a strong sense

of their extorted liberty, which, on every occasion that seemed favourable, they were eager to regain.

There were yet other causes that rendered the Syracusans untractable, and produced frequent revolutions in their commonwealth. They had not forgotten that they had gained signal victories over the formidable power of Africk, and that the terror of their arms had reached even to the walls of Carthage. They were conscious that they had been for many ages formidable to Afric;—not in one instance, as they were afterwards to Rome. Syracuse, from her large and well-appointed fleet, had conceived so high an opinion of her maritime power, that when the Persians invaded Greece, she claimed an equality with Athens, in the empire of the sea.

ROLL, HIST. ANC. tom. iii. p. 326, 327.

The character of the Syracusans.

The wealth, too, of the Syracusans, which they had acquired by their commerce, made them haughty and imperious; it likewise made them averse from application and labour, and enervated them with luxury and effeminacy. They blindly acceded to the persuasions of their orators, who had gained an absolute ascendant over them. Unless they were flattered or pampered, they were refractory and rebellious.

Yet they were naturally a mild, benevolent, and equitable people. But they were indolent and passive. They were seduced by the artful harangues of their orators :—by *them* they were impelled to the most violent and barbarous measures, of which they repented almost as soon as they were executed.

When they were under no controul, their liberty soon exceeded all bounds. It became levity, passion, violence, frenzy. On the contrary, they no sooner lost their freedom, than their caprice and impetuosity dwindled into meanness, timidity, and the most abject servitude. But as this degeneracy was effected by a violence on their nature; for it was directly opposite to the constitution and character of the Greek nation, born and bred in liberty, the sense of which was not extinguished, but only suppressed in the minds of the Syracusans;—they roused from time to time from a servile and inactive state, broke their chains, and (if I may use the expression) dashed them against their tyrants.

He who reads the history of the Syracusans with the least attention, will find, that they were incapable of bearing either liberty or servitude. Therefore the policy of their masters consisted in keeping them in a happy medium between those extremes; in apparently giving the people the choice of public measures; and in reserving only to themselves the province of enforcing their utility, and of carrying

carrying them into execution. And the Syracusans had kings and magistrates, as history informs us, under whose government they were very calm and tractable, perfectly obedient to the sovereign, and to the laws. Hence we may conclude, that the civil convulsions and revolutions which happened in Syracuse, were not so much occasioned by the inconstancy of the people as by the misconduct of their governors; who must have wanted the art of persuading the minds, and conciliating the hearts of their subjects—a most important science to kings, and to all persons in authority. *Ibid. p. 327, 328.*

The laws of Diocles.

Diocles, an illustrious Syracusan, advised his fellow-citizens to draw the names of their future magistrates by lot; and likewise to choose men capable of making judicious laws, which each of them was to compose apart, and from the fund of his own abilities. This advice was taken; and they appointed to the task some of the wisest of the citizens. Diocles so far excelled the rest in legislative talents, that the laws of the Syracusans were called the laws of Diocles, though many of them were written by the other sages, and adopted into the code. He was admired and revered by his citizens during his life, which he terminated by a most extraordinary death.

He had guarded the state against imposition by the most rigorous sentences; and his laws

laws were, in general, severe. By one of them, for instance, the person was to be punished with death who went into the assembly of the people with a sword, or *any* weapon, though he pleaded ignorance of the law, or any other pretext. A report was one day spread that the enemy were near the town : — Diocles put on his sword, and rushed out of his house. The rumour having raised a tumult in the forum (the place where their public assemblies were held) he turned in thither from an adjacent street without thinking of his sword. One of the citizens observing him, reproached him with a violation of his own law. “ I will convince you of the contrary,” replied Diocles, “ I will convince you that my practice reveres and confirms it.” — As soon as he had spoken these words, he plunged his sword into his heart. After his death the Syracusans decreed to him heroic honours. They likewise built a temple to him at the public expence, which Dionysius pulled down, and built a fort in its place.

Diocles was as highly esteemed by all the other Sicilians as by the Syracusans ; and his laws were adopted, and strictly obeyed by many cities, till they were subjected and governed by the Romans. And though Cephalus, under the government of Timoleon, and Polydore, in the reign of Hiero, wrote laws, the Syracusans would not honour them with the title of legislators ; but only called them interpreters of their legislator ; for in fact,

those laws, though apparently new, were only a version or commentary on the laws of Diocles, which by the usual changes in language, had grown difficult to be understood.

The author of those laws must have had a great detestation of vice; for he enacted the severest punishments against all injustice. The excellence of his heart likewise appears by the generous and well proportioned rewards which he assigns to the various acts of virtue. That he was a person of great penetration and judgment is proved by his enumeration and analysis of public actions, and by the species and degree of merit or demerit that he applies to each. His style is concise; and in many places the reader cannot comprehend him without acuteness of intellect. He makes us think and enlarge on hints. These are the remarks of Diodorus Siculus. DIOD. SICUL. p. 348.

THE INHABITANTS OF THE ISLAND OF TAPROBANE, which in modern geography is THE ISLAND OF CEYLON,

The people of this island were extremely different from the rest of the world, in their manner of living, and in the formation of their bodies. They were all of an equal stature, and were above six feet high. Their bones were as flexible and elastic as their muscles. Their bodies had not the appearance of strength; yet their nerves were far stronger than

than ours. For if they held any thing in their hands as fast as they could, it was impossible to wrench it from them. They had only hair on the head, on the eye-brows, on the eye-lids, and a beard. Over all the rest of their body their skin was extremely smooth, and not the least down was to be found. They had very good faces; and their bodies were admirably proportioned.

Their ears were much larger than ours, and they had a languet in the middle of them. Their tongues were very remarkable, partly by Nature and partly by an operation which they made in them. They were cloven perpendicularly, and were double to the root. By this separation of the tongue, they could not only distinctly pronounce any syllables or words of any language, but likewise imitate the notes and cry of every bird, and of every other animal; in short, they could exactly imitate all sounds. But what was most surprising, one person could converse with two at once, with his two tongues, on subjects totally different, without confusion or the least embarrassment.

This island enjoyed a temperate and most happy climate. By its tropical situation it was not subject to the extremes of heat and cold. It was blessed with a mild and perpetual autumn; like Homer's island of Phæacia. Its inhabitants had equal days and nights all the year; it had no shadows at noon; because the sun was then almost perpendicular there.

The

The whole nation was divided into many tribes; each tribe consisted of four hundred persons, who lived together in the most intimate society and friendship.

They lived in beautiful meadows, where Nature supplied them with all the necessaries of life. For their fine climate, and their fertile soil, yielded them more fruits of the earth than they wanted, without cultivation. A kind of reed grew in the island which bore a pulse like our vetches. This pulse, by being steeped in warm water, grew as large as a pigeon's egg; they then dried it, and had the peculiar art of reducing it to meal in their hands. When it was baked it was excellent bread. They had baths from warm springs, in which they bathed for pleasure and for health; and they were extremely salutary. These warm waters never cooled, unless they were mixed with cold water, or with wine.

They were versed in all sciences, and expert in all sorts of exercise: but their favourite study was astrology. In writing they used only seven characters; but each of those characters had four different positions, which made them equivalent to twenty-eight letters, and from which they took as many names. They wrote their lines, not as we do, from right to left, but from top to bottom.

They were as remarkable for their longevity as for other peculiarities of constitution: they lived in general, without any sickness, a hundred and fifty years. By too severe a law,

law, all those who were lame, either by nature or by accident, were put to death. When they had lived the number of years that we have just mentioned, they terminated their existence by a voluntary and singular death. Two different herbs grew in their island, each of which produced the same effect. This was their surprising and fatal property—If a person lay down to repose upon them, he fell into a profound sleep, from which he awoke no more.

Marriage was not in use among them. Their women were in common; and all their children were treated with a common affection by all the parents. When they were at the breast, their nurses were often changed, that the mothers might contract no partiality for their own children. By this universal and equal converse of the sexes, and by this public attention to their progeny, all prejudice and jealousy were banished from this happy island; and its inhabitants passed their lives in perfect unanimity.

Their islands produced a species of small animals, of a gentle and tractable nature, and of an extraordinary form and property. Their body was round, and resembled that of a tortoise; on their back they had a cross in the form of an X. At each extremity of the X they had an eye, and a mouth. Thus the animal had four eyes and four mouths, which communicated with one throat that conveyed its nourishment to one stomach. Its blood had

the

the astonishing virtue of instantaneously joining and fastening any parts of a living body that were separated by a wound, while that wound was recent.

In this island there was likewise a peculiar species of very large birds, by which the inhabitants discovered the dispositions of their children. In the sight of all the people they set the children on the backs of these birds, which immediately flew aloft with them into the air. They who kept their seat, without betraying any signs of fear, were brought up; but they killed those who were terrified with the rapid and high flight; for they concluded that they were sickly, and could not live long; or that their minds would not be strong enough to bear the adverse events of life.

The oldest person of each class acted as king over the rest, who paid him a respectful obedience. When he was a hundred and fifty years old, he resigned life in compliance with the law; and the next in age succeeded to his dignity.

Though the earth yielded them without labour, a great abundance and variety of productions, they were not guilty of any intemperance. They lived in great frugality, and were content with the necessaries of life: They ate animal food, indeed, roasted and boiled; but they were unacquainted with the refinements of modern cookery. They caught all sorts of birds and fishes. Their trees supplied them with fruits of every kind, exclusive of

of their olive-trees and vines, which yielded them excellent oil and wine. In their island there were serpents of an enormous size; but innoxious; and they were exquisite food.

Their garments were of the rind of a certain reed, which was covered with a very soft and shining down. They improved its lustre with a purple dye, which they made from shell-fish of different kinds.

Their manner of living was fixed by rules. They ate not the same things indiscriminately; but on certain days some were to eat fowl, some fish, and some olives, and others fruit. The useful employments were likewise divided among them: to some fishing was assigned, to some the mechanical arts; and others were to render other services to their community, or to their tribe. They entered, in their turns, on the offices of the state, from which their old men only were exempted.

They worshipped the Air, the Sun, and all the other celestial bodies; to which, on their festivals, they addressed hymns and supplications. But the principal object of their adoration was the Sun, to which they had consecrated their island and themselves.

They buried their dead on the sea-shore at low water, that the returning tide might raise their tomb. DIOD. SICUL. p. 97. *et seq.*

THE TENCTERI.

The Tencteri were a German people. Tacitus praises their cavalry, which, he says, in courage and discipline, excelled that of all the other Germans. Horsemanship was their amusement in their childhood; their object of emulation in their youth; and they practised it even in their old age. A father's noblest legacy was his horses; and he left them, not to his eldest son, but to him who was the bravest and the best soldier.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. c. 32.

THE THRACIANS.

The Thracians, says Herodotus, are the most populous nation in the world, except the Indians; and if they had been governed by a monarch, or if they had not been subject to civil dissensions, they would have been invincible; they would have been the lords of the universe. But the Thracians were a tumultuous people; and their refractory spirit was the cause of many obstinate and fatal quarrels. Hence they were always weak, always a prey to any powerful invader. The inhabitants of the different districts of Thrace had different names. But they all had the same laws and customs, except the Getæ, the Trausi, and the inhabitants of the district adjacent to the Crestonians.

The

The institutions of the Trausi, and of the other Thracians were the same, excepting their ceremonies at a birth and at a funeral. As soon as one of their children was born, all its relations assembled round it, and wept and bewailed it, on account of the many evils inseparable from human life, many of which it would necessarily suffer. But when one of their countrymen died, they interred him with joy and exultation; because he was delivered from a precarious and miserable existence, and enjoyed uninterrupted felicity.

They who lived north of the Crestorians had many wives. When a husband of this district died, there was a warm contest among his widows, to determine which of them had been most tenderly loved by the deceased. It was often difficult for their friends to decide the question. She, however, who was pronounced to have been the greatest favourite, after having received the most lavish encomiums from either sex for her conjugal merit and glory, was knocked on the head by her nearest male relation, on the tomb of her husband; and in that tomb she was interred. The other widows went home disconsolate, and thought they had suffered the most dreadful ignominy.

It was customary with the other Thracians to sell their children to foreigners. Their education of their daughters was not rigid; they permitted them to associate with men indiscriminately. But they kept their wives under

under close restraint, and bought them of their parents with great sums. They thought it honourable to have many scars on the forehead, and shameful to have none. Indolence was their characteristic of freedom :—agriculture they deemed an employment only fit for slaves. To live by war and rapine was, in their estimation, the greatest glory.

Of the ancient deities they only worshipped Mars, Bacchus, and Diana ; but the god of their kings was Mercury. By him they swore, and from him they boasted that they were descended.

Persons of superior rank paid the following honour to their dead. They exposed their bodies to public view for three days. After they had sacrificed many kinds of victims, they made a sumptuous entertainment. They burned or interred the body, and raised over it a tomb of earth. Games and combats around the tomb were the last of the funereal honours.

HERODOT. l. v. c. 3. *et seq.*

THE THURIANS.

Thurium, an Italian city, not far distant from the ancient Sybaris, was founded by Lampon and Xenocrites. The following account of it is given us by Diodorus Siculus. The Sybarites, driven from their territories, sent ambassadors to Greece, to request the Athenians and Lacedæmonians that they would assist them to regain their country, and strengthen

strengthen their reviving state with a Greek colony. The Spartans rejected their petition; but it was granted by the Athenians, who sent them ten ships well manned, and commanded by Lampon and Xenocrites. They likewise by their emissaries acquainted the Peloponnesians, that they would protect that colony, and those who chose to embark in its fortune. Many were prevailed with to join them by these offers, and by the answer of Apollo, whose oracle they consulted. They were commanded from the Tripod to build a city in a place where there was not much water, but where there was abundance of bread.

They sailed along the coast of Italy; and having arrived at the ruins of Sybaris, they sought for the place which the oracle had described. Not far from Sybaris, they found a source of water, the name of which was *Thuria*: it flowed from a pipe of brass, which was called by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood *Tonna*. Concluding that this was the ground appointed for them by the oracle, they first raised a wall round the space which they intended to occupy. Then, within the wall, they drew the plan of their city, which, in length, was to have four capital divisions. The first was to take the name of Hercules, the second that of Venus, the third that of Olympia, and the fourth the name of Bacchus. It was to have three principal divisions in breadth; the first of which was to be

called the Hero; the second Thuria; and the third Thurinus. They then executed their plan; the houses and streets were beautiful; and the city altogether made a very fine appearance. But unanimity did not long subsist among the citizens. A dissension soon arose from a very important cause.

The inhabitants of the old Sybaris seized all the considerable posts of the state; and left only the inferior offices to their associates. They even insisted that *their* wives should sacrifice to the gods before those of the latter. In dividing the lands they likewise took to themselves those that were nearest the city; and gave the remoter parts to the strangers. The young adventurers who were much more numerous, and far braver than the old inhabitants, were so exasperated at this treatment, that they took up arms against them, cut them off, and remained masters of a large space inclosed with walls.

As they possessed an extensive country, they invited from Greece a great number of families, with whom they divided the city and its territories. The new commonwealth soon became opulent; it entered into alliance with the Crotoniatæ, and by its prudent conduct acquired great reputation. The government of the Thurians was democratical; they divided their citizens into ten tribes, to which they gave the names of their respective nations. Three of their tribes, for instance, were called Arcadian, Achaian, and Elæan; because they

they were composed of emigrants from those three Peloponnesian provinces;—there was likewise the Bœotian, the Amphictyonic, and the Dorian—three other tribes, invited from provinces which bore those names. The four remaining tribes were, for the same reason, called Iades, Athenaïc, Euboïc, and Nesiōtis.

They chose for their legislator, Charondas, who was the greatest moral philosopher of his time. His code consisted partly of *his own*, and partly of the sagest laws of the many civilized countries of the world. I shall here cite some of the laws of Charondas, which, I flatter myself, the reader will find equally entertaining and instructive.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 295.

Laws of Charondas.

By one of Charondas's laws, they who gave their children a step-mother, were excluded from the assemblies of the state. The legislator thought that he who could be so great an enemy to his family, would not prove a steady friend to his country.—“ If, said he, a man's “ first marriage has been happy, he ought to “ revere its memory; and to marry again is “ to profane it:—if it has been unhappy, “ he is mad if he ventures on a second.”

He likewise enacted, that all those who were convicted of calumny, should be led through the streets with a crown of tamarind

on their heads, to notify to the public, that they had arrived at the last degree of malevolence.—Many, against whom this mortifying sentence had been denounced, prevented its execution by suicide. The severity of the legislator towards this crime, made it very rare, and greatly promoted the tranquillity and happiness of the state.

Charondas made another law which did honour to a sage and virtuous legislator. He prohibited a social intercourse with bad men. A precaution which had been omitted by other founders of states ! He was satisfied that ingenuous minds were often corrupted by a familiarity with men of licentious manners ;—that vice is contagious as well as malady. For (as he observed) our propensity to evil is very strong ; and many, who are born with a warm affection for virtue, by the gradual, but powerful influence of bad example, sink to a total depravity. Our legislator, therefore, solicitous to prevent this moral degeneracy, prohibited all connexion with men of profligate lives. He guarded this law with particular regulations ; and established severe punishments for those by whom any of them should be violated.

He made another law which was not less important, and which had not been enacted by any preceding legislator. By this law, the sons of the citizens were to learn to read and write under masters paid by the public. For he foresaw, that without this provision, the children

children of those parents who could not afford to pay for their education, would be deprived of this advantage. He well knew that this should be the first, as it was the most important knowledge. For the most useful and interesting objects of life are promoted and attained by writing. By *it* scrutinies are made for the nomination to public offices ; it is essential to epistolary correspondence, to the disposal of our effects at death, to the institution of laws ;—to all the strongest and most momentous ties of society. All the advantages, all the pleasures which result from this art, are not to be comprehended in the bounds of an eulogium. By it alone the actions of the illustrious dead are imprinted on the minds of the living ; friends divided by an immense tract of space, are brought together, and converse :—treaties terminate destructive wars between kings and nations, and establish the blessings of durable peace :—the maxims of the sages, the answers of the gods, the noble theories of philosophy, are diffused through all countries, and transmitted to the latest posterity. In a word, Nature gives us life ; but writing teaches us the use of life. These were the advantages which Charondas was desirous to insure to his citizens ; and for *them* he thought it the duty of the republic to provide, both by its attention and its finances. This law was as superior to those of other legislators, which provided physicians for the state at the public expence, as the cure of the foul

soul by moral instruction, is more important than that of the body by medicine.

The two first of the laws which I have cited, were celebrated by many poets;—we have the following allusion to his laws against keeping bad company—

Him who associates with immoral men,
I own, Charondas, that I need not try
By private, and repos'd observation.
Free intercourse with the licentious liver,
Even when by Nature we are born for virtue,
Perverts the manners, and corrupts the soul.

I shall here add more verses in which the poet makes the legislator provide, and remonstrate, against second marriages, or the introduction of step-mothers into families—

The rash, unnatural father who exposes
His children to a step-dame's tyranny,
Shall hold no office in our commonwealth,
Nor in his country's cause his name illustrate.
He'd make of Thurium what he makes his house,
A theatre of strife and tragedy.
Did Heaven vouchsafe thee one auspicious mar-
riage?
Was it not bliss enough? But was *that one*
Replete with misery?—Then what madness
mov'd thee,
By venturing on a second, to entail
Calamity on thy remaining life?—

Charondas instituted another law, respecting the education of children. When it is first read, the reasons on which it was founded, do not appear. But when it is considered,

it shews the great wisdom of the legislator, and deserves the highest praise. It enacts that the nearest paternal relations shall be the guardians of the effects of orphans; and that the orphans themselves shall be educated by the nearest relations on the mother's side. The foundation of this distinction is not immediately seen. But when we carefully examine, why the legislator intrusts the fortune and the person of the orphan separately, with the relations in either line, we discover his reasons, and they shew that he was thoroughly acquainted with the human heart. For as the maternal relations could have no hopes of inheriting the fortune of the orphan, they could not be prompted by interest to deprive him of life: and as he was not in the custody of his paternal relations, it was out of their power to commit that selfish and unnatural crime. Again, as these paternal relations were the orphan's heirs, if he died a minor, by malady or by any other accident, they would be the more careful guardians of a fortune which in time they might possess.

Charondas enacted another law against those who quitted their post in battle, or who refused to take arms in the service of their country. Other legislators punished cowards with death. But they were condemned by Charondas, to be exposed for three days to public shame in the Forum, in a female dress. This punishment is more humane and more political: for it gradually impells

impells men to courage by the fear of infamy, which is more horrible than death. It likewise preserves the lives of citizens, who, after it is inflicted, may be of service to their country even in war; by the ardour with which they may be inspired to efface past ignominy by future actions of valour.

Charondas was of opinion that rigour was the support of laws. Therefore he insisted much on the strict observation of his institutions; even of those which might seem improper. Though he authorised the state to amend his laws, under restrictions which we shall hereafter mention, the permission, however, was introduced with this principle, that it is as salutary to be determined by the letter of the law, as it is dangerous to subject the express terms of the law to the opinion or artifice of individuals. Accordingly, in trials, he checked and reproached the parties whenever they substituted arbitrary interpretations and delusive eloquence for the plain sense of the laws; and thus endeavoured to violate their authority and majesty. Thus the patriots of Thurium, when they observed the judges hesitating to pronounce an obvious and indisputable sentence, would sometimes recommend to them, seriously to consider whether it was their duty to revere the person of the criminal or the law.

Charondas secured the permanence of his laws by one which was most rigid and unexampled. He had been witness, in many

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commonwealths, to seditions and tumults which had been occasioned by those who pretended to reform the laws. For while they were planning this reformation, justice was suspended, and anarchy prevailed. Therefore he enacted, that whosoever should venture to amend any of his laws, should first, with his own hands, put a rope about his neck, and then repair with it to the assembly of the people; and that it should not be taken off till after they had passed their judgment on his amendment.

—If they accepted it, he should immediately be freed from the rope; but if it was rejected, he should be hanged with it on the spot. This law repressed the presumption of political enterprisers; they dreaded the determination of the people. Hence from the time of Charondas only three of his laws were changed, at the suit of three persons, who petitioned the assembly on very remarkable occasions.

By one of Charondas's laws, he who deprived a man of an eye, was likewise to lose an eye. One of the Thurians had an eye struck out, who had before lost the other; consequently he was totally blind. This man represented to the assembly, that according to the letter of the law, the punishment of his enemy would not be adequate to the injury himself had received from him;—that he who makes a citizen blind, is not sufficiently punished by the loss of an eye;—and that therefore in equity, he who had robbed him of

of his only eye, should lose both his own. In a word, the unhappy blind man, after having deplored his calamity to the assembly, ventured likewise, with a halter about his neck, to propose an amendment of the law. His fellow-citizens not only granted him his life, but agreed to his proposal, and improved the law.

A second law permitted a wife to quit her husband, and to marry another. A man advanced in years, having been deserted by his wife, who was young, advised the Thurians to improve their law by an additional clause, enacting,—that a woman should not be permitted to take a second husband younger than he whom she had forsaken; and that a man should not be permitted to chuse a second younger than she whom he had quitted. This man's enterprise likewise met with success; his additional clause was adopted, and he recovered his young wife, who, in consequence of his emendation of the law, was incapacitated from marrying a man of years suitable to her own.

A third law was corrected, which was likewise among those of Solon. By this law the nearest relation had a right to demand an heiress, before the judges, in marriage. And by the same law, a female orphan might demand, in marriage, her nearest relation. But that relation might exempt himself from marrying her by giving her a portion of five hundred drachmas. A female orphan of Thurium, who

who was of a very good family, but could hardly subsist, and to whom no man paid his addresses on account of her poverty, represented her case to the assembly of the people. She informed them of her indigence and her desolate situation. Her distressful tale was as moving as her tears. She was so adventurous as to go farther. She proposed that the law should be altered ; that the dispensing clause of the five hundred drachmas should be repealed, and that the heir should be obliged to marry his nearest relation. The assembly were moved with compassion for this orphan ; they approved of her amendment ; and obliged her relation, who was very rich, to marry her.

Ibid. p. 295. et seq.

THE TROGLODYTES.

The Troglodytes were a people of Æthiopia. In agility and swiftness they excelled all other nations. They lived on serpents, lizards, and other reptiles. Their language was totally different from all others ; it was like the hissing of a bat.

HEROD. lib. iv. c. 183.

THE TYRRHENIANS.

The Tyrrhenians, in very ancient times, were renowned for their valour ; they possessed an extensive country, and founded many cities. As they had a large fleet which made their

their maritime power very considerable, they gave their name to that sea by which the southern parts of Italy are bounded.

They invented a trumpet which was of great use in land-engagements, and which, from them, was called the Tyrrhenian trumpet. To augment the dignity of their generals, they gave them lictors, a chariot of ivory, and a purple robe.

They were the first who built porticoes before their houses; an invention in which grandeur and convenience united. It prevented the noise of the passengers, and of the slaves and domestics of the masters. The Romans, who took many of their customs, adopted their porticoes, which they improved to a great degree of magnificence.

The Tuscans were famous for their application to polite literature and philosophy. But their principal study was to know the various presages from thunder; a science in which they excelled all other nations. Hence they have been universally respected (says Diodorus Siculus) from their early establishment to the present time; and many states have applied to them in critical junctures, for their interpretation of that celestial oracle.

As Tuscany was a very fertile country, and thoroughly cultivated, it not only supplied its inhabitants with the necessaries, but with the superfluities of life. The Tuscans made two meals a-day, which were delicate and luxurious.

tious. Their couches were covered with rich flowered stuffs. They had many vessels of silver, and a great number of domestics. Their slaves were either conspicuous for their beauty, or for their splendid dress. Their youth, and even their slaves, had each a commodious and elegant apartment.

In the time of Diodorus Siculus they had lost all that courage by which their ancestors were distinguished, and passed their life in indolence and debauchery. The mildness of their climate, and the fertility of their soil, greatly contributed to their inactivity and intemperance. The territories of Tuscany consisted of rich and extensive plains, and fruitful hills. This country had frequent rains, in summer as well as in winter.

DIOD. SICUL. p. 218, 219.

THE VENEDI.

The manners of this people resemble those of the Sarmatians; witness their robberies in the forests, and on the mountains that separated the Fenni from the Peucini. Yet the Venedi were deemed a German nation, because they had fixed habitations, because they used shields, travelled and fought on foot, and were famous for their swiftness. In all these particulars they differed from the Sarmatians, who were always on horseback, or in their waggons.

TACIT. DE MORIB. GERM. c. 46.

THE ZABECI.

The Zabeci were a Lybian nation: they fought in chariots; and their women were the chariooteers. HEROD. l. iv. c. 193.

THE ZYGANTES.

The Zygantes were likewise a people of Lybia. They painted all their bodies, and ate monkeys, of which there were great numbers in the mountainous parts of Libya.

Ibid. c. 194.

F I N I S.

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